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52.
DETECTION

OF THE

State and Situation

Of the Present

SUGAR PLANTERS,

OF

B A R B A D O E S

AND THE

LEWARD ISLANDS;

With an Answer to this QUERY, Why does
not *England*, or her Sugar Islands, or both,
make and settle more Sugar Colonies in the
West-Indies?

Written in the Month of *December* 1731, by an
Inhabitant of one of His MAJESTY's
Leward Caribbee Islands; and humbly Dedicat-
ed to the Right Honourable Sir ROBERT
WALPOLE.

*TEKE L, Thou art weighed in the Balances, and art found
wanting. Dan. v. 27.*

Tecum habita, & nôris quàm sit tibi curta suppellex.

Perf. Sat. 4. lin. ult.

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by J. WILFORD, behind the
Chapter-House in *St Paul's Church-Yard*. 1732.

A
DETECTION

OF THE

State and Situation

Of the Western

SUGAR PLANTERS

OR

BARBADOES

AND THE

LEWARD ISLANDS;

With an Appendix to the Query, Why does
not Barbadoes, or her Sugar Islands, or ports,
make and send more Sugar Colonies in the
West-Indies?

Written in the Month of December 1781, by an
Inhabitant of one of the MIDDLESEX
Counties, Gentlemen, and formerly Deputies
to the Right Honourable Sir ROBERT
WILKINS.



LONDON:

Printed and Sold by J. WILKINS, behind the
Capitol Hill, in St Paul's Church-yard, 1781.



puts it into your Power to look
TO THE
into the State of these Colonies,
RIGHT HONOURABLE

Sir Robert Walpole,

Knight of the Garter.

SIR,

THE Duty I owe to
Great Britain, and
the Respect I bear
to her Sugar Colo-
nies, induc'd me to write the
following *Detection*; and the
same is address'd to You, be-
cause the KING hath been
miA A pleas'd

pleas'd to place, or rather to continue, You among the First in the Royal Councils, which puts it into your Power to look into the State of these *Colonies*, which are said to be valuable to *Great Britain*.

You will find them struggling in vain with our Two dextrous Rivals in the Sugar Trade, and at the same Time sore press'd down with Hardships and Discouragements, which it may be presum'd the Nation would not have laid them under, had She not first been impos'd on herself, by the plausible Informations of Men unacquainted with their unhappy Situation; or of those whose

Aim

Aim was to fleece, and thereby render Them useless, and at length a Burthen to the Nation; and above all, by the poor Pride of many of the Planters themselves, *in boasting of Wealth they never had*: These your discerning Eye will soon see thro'; and your well known Concern for the Publick, will as readily dispose You to promote the Relief, Improvement, and Safety of our Sugar Settlements, because it is agreed on all Hands, that the Publick Interest requires them to be promoted.

GREAT Out-cries are rais'd at your Conduct in other Matters, which in the main seem to me to proceed from Ill-Na-

ture, Selfishness, and Envy ; at least, these Out-Cries having been very loud and long, it is not possible but they must have reach'd the Throne, where happily fits a Prince whose Penetration is no more to be deceiv'd or evaded, than his Love to his Subjects can be restrain'd or diverted ; and who therefore would most certainly, before this, have (to say the mildest) dismiss'd you his Service, if He had not found them (to say the mildest here too) frivolous, or ill-grounded.

As *We-know-who* will ever *rage* the Length of his Chain, and make the most dissolute Use of Liberty ; so some are of Opinion,

nion, that neither Heaven nor Earth can long endure to see Government (any more than Religion) insulted and lampoon'd: But be that as it will, one may venture to pronounce, that, let *your* Enemies exclaim, calumniate, threaten, and rage on as if inspir'd by Furies, and propagate the Productions of their Spite to Posterity too, If it may but be said, that *the SUGAR COLONIES of ENGLAND, when reduc'd* (thro' the too successful Arts of her indefatigable Rivals, their own Indiscretions, the Misrepresentations of ignorant or designing Persons, and some consequent Hardships laid on them by Mistake) *to the lowest Ebb, and just ready*

ready to perish, did, as soon as
 Sir ROBERT WALPOLE
 look'd into the Case in the Year
 1732, obtain that Redress and
 Encouragement, which had been
 implor'd to no Purpose under al-
 most every Ministry, whilst
 their Ruin was advancing, and
 which at once put them in a Con-
 dition of being more beneficial to
 their Mother Country than ever,
 this, alone, must out-balance
 (both in your own Mind in the
 mean Time, and with the
 World at all Times) all that
 can be said or done by these
 ill-fated Men; who are plainly
 seeking to gain such Employ-
 ments in the State as you seem
 firmly resolv'd they shall not
 gain; and (which is a thousand
 times

times worse) such as They
 seem, from the Spirit and
 Principles that pervade their
 Writings, not to be qualified
 for. For my own part, I
 dread our falling into their
 Power, and therefore with a
 long Continuance of Your's;
 and, considering your Wis-
 dom, and Abilities, so Visibly
 superior to these Adversaries,
 and so Wholly devoted to
 the Crown and Nation, as I
 trust soon to acknowledge
 from the Press Your Favours
 to the *Sugar Colonies*, and in
 particular to *St Christopher's*,
 whose State has been unfair-
 ly represented to You, and
 is endeavour'd to be set in a
 true Light, in some Points,
 in

**in this Detection, (so I cannot
but now declare my self,**

SIR,

Your grateful Admirer,

and most humble

Servant,

**From One of the
Leward Islands,
Jan. 29. 1731.**

**An Inhabitant of One
His Majesty's Leward
Caribbee Islands.**



DETECTION

OF THE

State and Situation

Of the Present

SUGAR PLANTERS.

IF an Attempt to undeceive People in their long continu'd Mistakes, in Matters merely speculative, is seldom taken well; with what Distaste and Anger must one be receiv'd at first, which pretends to detect Mistakes in daily Practice, wherein the Persons imposing on themselves or others, imagine that both find their Account? This I take to be the Case at present with the Bulk of the Sugar Planters of *Barbadoes* and the *Leward Islands*, as well as with too many of our Countrymen in *England*, with respect to the State and Situation of these Planters. But let it be receiv'd as it will, since

B

I am

I am under some Obligations to one or two of these Islands, in which I have been settled now above twenty Years, and under much greater to our Mother-Country, whose Interest I conceive is like to suffer most by the Mistake, I shall for once venture to lay the Ax to the Root of the Tree; and remove from the Foundation, if I can, an Imagination which has done great Harm already to both, and will, I fear, do much more if not speedily remov'd. For what can it profit, or rather what Mischief must it not do to a Man, or a People, to say, *We are rich, and increased with Goods, and have need of nothing, when in the mean time they are* (tho' they know it not, or would seem not to know it) *wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked?*

WHAT I shall say of Barbadoes, is owing to a small Treatise in 4to, intituled, *The present State of the British Sugar Colonies consider'd*, London, printed 1731.

AND what I would otherwise say of the *Leward Islands*, shall be taken from a Manuscript now before me, which the Author, who is my Friend, affirms was never publish'd, intituled, *Some Account of the Sale of the French Lands in the Island of S. Christopher, with the Consequences of it to that Island and England: Written in the Month of June 1727.*

I. AS to the first, the Writer of another small Tract in 8vo, with this Title, *Remarks upon a Book, intituled, The present State of the British Sugar Colonies consider'd*, London, printed by J. Peele 1731, says (p. 6.) *These Islanders [the Inhabitants of Barbadoes, the Leward Islands, and Jamaica] are the most opulent, most splendid, and gayest People of all His Majesty's Dominions, to which he adds, p. 27. even very few about his Courts*

Courts excepted. And again, p. 31. *I have reason to be of Mr Gee's Opinion, who says —* ' The ' *Island of Barbadoes* is very much worn out, and ' does not afford the Quantity of Sugars as heretofore; and yet the Planters live in great ' Splendor, and at a vast Expence; while the ' *French* continue to live very frugally, and by ' their Labour, Industry, and Fertility of their ' Soil, are able to under sell us.' I quote this Writer here only to shew, what is the receiv'd Notion in *England* of the Wealth and Opulence of the Sugar Manufacturers of these Islands, *who are enriched* (says another) *by their Manufacture to a surprizing Degree*; and therefore, waving other Authorities, shall take it for granted, that almost every *English* Reader is of the same Mind. To what such an universally received Mistake is owing among those in *England*, who look not into the Inside of things, is not hard to tell: The hospitable and generous Spirit of most Sugar Planters, in which it cannot be denied they exceed Persons of like Estate or Wealth in *Europe*, the Extravagance and Luxury of the more unthinking sort, and a certain Species of Vanity not uncommon among those who subsist much on Credit and Reputation, have doubtless given great occasion for it; but nothing, in my Opinion conduces more to lead Strangers into, and confirm them in this Conceit, than when they see Men, as eminent for Integrity as for Skill in the Subject they treat of, calculating the Profits and Expences of a Sugar Plantation in such a manner, as to infer a very large Balance on the side of the former; this cannot but put the Matter out of question, with all who love to have *smooth Things* spoken to them, or are fond of an agreeable Conclusion without examining the Premises, as a great part of Mankind are; and were it

possible for those at Home, who have the Care and Inspection of Plantation Affairs, to be of that Number (as some of them seem to have been in former times) and to suspect no Mistake in such a Calculation, the Consequences thereof might prove (as in a great Measure they did in those former times) intolerable both to our Sugar Colonies, and our Mother-Country. And no Writer, as I conceive, ever gave so seemingly fair a Handle for this, as the Author of *The present State of the British Sugar Colonies consider'd* has done, as I am now to shew.

IN order to which it is necessary, to set down his *Sketch of the supposed yearly Produce and Expence of a Sugar Colony*, that is as the Gentleman explains himself (p. 24.) *the usual annual Produce [and Expence] of Barbadoes alone, as the Trade now stands there, which Sketch, or Calculate, is (as he assures us, p. 23. where and in the preceeding Page we have the Sketch) as near the Truth as possible.*

<i>Yearly Produce.</i>	<i>Freight</i>	<i>Duty</i>	<i>Commissi- ons, Port Charges, &c.</i>	<i>Nett Profits.</i>
Suppose 25,000 Hogsheads of Sugar - - -	50,000	- - -	20,000	320,000
15,000 Hogsheads of Rum and Molasses - - -	15,000	- - -	2000	80,000
Ginger, Cotton, and Aloes	1000	- - -	600	20,000
	66,000	50000	22,600	120,000

Yearly

Yearly Expence.	Freight.	Tons of Ship- ping.	Sail- ors.	Cost in the Plan- tation.
Suppose 2800 Negroes from <i>Africa</i> - - - - -	19,600	3000	400	80,000
Wine from <i>Madera</i> - - - - -	2500	1200	150	30,000
Refuse Fish not fit for an <i>European Market</i> - - - - -	5000	4000	400	20,000
In catching and curing, &c. Lumber, Boards, Staves, &c. - - - - -	2500	1800	200	- - - -
- - - - -	2000	4000	300	40,000
Horses in Lumber-Ships - - - - -	5000	- - -	- - -	15,000
Flower, Bread, Corn, &c. - - - - -	4000	3000	300	10,000
Beef, Pork, Herrings, &c. - - - - -	5000	3000	300	25,000
Linnen, Woollen, Iron, Copper, &c. (with Re- turns as to Shipping and Sailors) - - - - -	4400	10,000	750	100,000
- - - - -	50,000	30,000	2800	320,000
Freight brought from yearly Produce - - - - -	66,000	- - -	- - -	- - -
- - - - -	116,000	- - -	- - -	Balance 100,000
- - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	420,000

If the Author only means that, after an Allowance is made for the Freight, Duty, Commifions, Port Charges, &c. of the yearly Produce of *Barbadoes*, the nett Profits will amount to 420,000 *l.* and that after the Plantation Charges by him mentioned are deducted from the said 420,000 *l.* nett Profits, a Balance of 100,000 *l.* will remain somewhere in *Great Britain*, I am not his Adversary, and the Mistake may be justly retorted on my self; but if he means, or would insinuate, that the said Balance of 100,000 *l.* or even the greater part of it, is left in *Great Britain* to the Credit of the Sugar Planters of *Barbadoes*, in the same manner as the 116,000 *l.* Freight remains to the Shipping, the 50,000 *l.* Duty

Duty to the Crown, the 22,600 *l.* Commissions, &c. to the Factors, and as the 320,000 *l.* Produce of the Negroes, Wine, Provisions, Linnen, Woollen, Iron, Copper, &c. some where to the Merchant, he seems to me to be much mistaken himself, and at the same time to lay a plausible Foundation for the fatal Mistakes so current in *England*, concerning the Opulence of the Sugar Planters, and by Consequence for the many sore Hardships they have so long labour'd under. For if, after all the annual Expences of the *Barbadoes* Plantation are clear'd off, there remains still out of the nett annual Profits, a Balance in favour of the Owners of no less than 100,000 *l.* to be disposed of by them elsewhere at Pleasure, it is evident they are (if we look no farther than to the Compais of their Island, and the small Number of white Inhabitants now settled on it, and overlook, as the manner is with those in *England* who write on Plantation Affairs, their Stock in Slaves, Buildings, and Sugar-Utensils) considerable Gainers as the Case now stands, and would be so much more such, if their Sugar Trade was regulated as he would have it, and as I think it ought to be regulated, that who knows but such their Gains might be deem'd a sufficient Ground, not only to justify the heavy Impositions they complain of, but even to induce some in *England* to think of laying them under more and heavier? And I leave it to his own Consideration, whether his Calculate might not occasion the Reflection which the *New-England* Agents make in their Representation to the Parliament, viz. ' Our Sugar Islands are a rich and fertile Soil, they send great Quantities of Sugar to *England*, for which they receive (*but to a much less Value*) divers of the Necessaries of Life: ' The

The Balance of Trade is always greatly in their Favour, by which they have got, and still do 'get great Estates, and live in Wantonness and 'Luxury.' But if no such Balance, or any thing near it, is coming to the People of *Barbadoes* from their Manufactures, then (as that Reflection will appear to be unjust, so) our Mother Nation, instead of laying more and heavier Burthens on the Sugar Planters, will undoubtedly find herself concern'd, in point of Self-Interest, both to remove those which have subsisted so long already, and to grant to them speedily the Relief and Encouragement now so much desired.

To come at the Truth, I will allow this Gentleman, that *Barbadoes*, as her Sugar Trade now stands, makes annually 25,000 Hogsheads of Sugar, worth at the Market 320,000 *l.* and 15,000 Hogsheads of Rum and Molasses, worth 80,000 *l.* besides Ginger, Cotton, and Aloës, to the Value of 20,000 *l.* Nay, I do not know but that Island made in one of the last four Years a seventh, if not a sixth more; but it is confidently said, that (abstracting from what he acknowledges, p. 24. viz. that *the Fall of Sugar at Home, from the Price his Calculation was founded on, which we know did happen according to his Fears, would lower his Calculation at least the clear Balance of 100,000 l. per Annum, and perhaps as much more*) *Barbadoes* has not made this present Year, 1731, above half the Quantity he mentions, or 210,000 *l.* in Value; and yet the yearly Costs of the Plantation, viz. 320,000 *l.* according to his Sketch, have been in all Respects (except Cooperidge) the same, or rather more in the Article of Provisions, which are generally scarce and dear in dry-weather Years; the Crown has lost half the Duty, the Factors half the Commissions,

missions, and the homeward bound Shipping half the Freight he assigns them; and in the mean time the Sugar Manufacturers of *Barbadoes* are so far from having a Balance of 100,000*l.* arising to them, that the necessary Costs of the Plantation (even according to his under Calculate) must have brought against them no less than a Balance of 110,000*l.* for this very Year; which, it will be confessed, is not soon or easily to be retriev'd. But passing this, (which, whether it be true of this Year or not, every Liver in *Barbadoes* knows to be too often the Case) I say, I will allow the usual annual Produce of *Barbadoes* to be worth at the Market 420,000*l.* and shall go on to set down most of the Articles of the annual Expence of that Island as this Gentleman calculates them, and then add some others which I apprehend he has omitted; every one whereof I submit to the Gentlemen of *Barbadoes* themselves, and to none sooner than the Person I am now opposing, or to any others that will be so kind as to discover in the most public Manner (whether courteous, or otherwise, will break no Squares) wherein I may be mistaken.

The usual annual Expence of the Barbadoes Plantation.

2800 Negroes from <i>Africa</i>	80,000
Wine from <i>Madera</i>	30,000
Refuse Fish, not fit for an <i>European</i>	} 20,000
Market	
Lumber, Boards, Staves, &c.	40,000
Horses in Lumber-Ships	15,000
Flower, Bread, Corn, &c.	10,000

Carry over 195,000

		l.	l.
	Brought over	195,000	
20,000 Barrels of Beef and Herrings, and 5000 Bar- rels of Pork, Neats Tongues, and pickled Salmon, at 20s. the Bar- rel — — — — —	} 25,000		220,000
4000 Firkins of Butter (which is short of 1 lb in in the Week for half the White Inhabitants) at 20s. the Firkin — — —	} 4,000		
N. B. It being necessary in making Calculations to fix on some certain Num- ber ; in this, and the Ar- ticle of Apparel, I sup- pose the White Inhabi- tants of <i>Barbadoes</i> to be 10,000 Men, Women, and Children, but far from meaning thereby to ascertain their Number ; which if greater, their Expence in both Arti- cles will of course be greater ; as if less, a Deduction is to be made.			
3000 Boxes of Candles, containing each 56 lb at 6d. the Pound Weight	} 4200		
Soap — — — — —	4200		
Hams and Flich-Bacon, supposing 1000 Families to consume 40 lb of both, at 3 d. the Pound — — —	} 500		12,900
			<hr/>
		Carry over	232,900

	l.	l.
Brought over		232,900
Cheese, the Quantity and Price as the former —	500	
500 Tons of Beer, bottled Ale, and Cyder (which is not quite one Pint a Day for 3000 Persons) at 14 l. the Ton —	7000	
Arrack (admitting the whole Island to consume six Gallons a Day) at 16 s. the Gallon —	1752	
Rhenish, Portugal, and Canary Wines, suppose —	800	
French Liquors by the Way of Ireland, Martinico, &c. suppose —	1200	11,252
Apparel by the Year for 10,000 White Men, Women, and Children, viz.		
500 Men at 26 l. 10 s. each, thus,		
	l.	s.
2 or 3 Hats —	2	0 0
1 Wig — —	4	4 0
Silk Stockings —	1	10 0
Thread ditto —	1	0 0
Gloves — —	1	0 0
Shoes & Slippers	1	6 0
1 Suit or 2 of out-side Clothes —	10	0 0
Linnen and Silk Night-gown or Banyan —	5	10 0
		13,250
		13,250
Carry over		257,402

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	l.	l.
Brought over		257,402
500 Women at 32 l. each	16,000	
500 Men at 16 l. each	8,000	
500 Women at 20 l. each	10,000	
4000 Men, Women, and Children at 9 l. each	36,000	
4000 more at 50 s. each	10,000	
		80,000

Clothing by the Year for
(suppose) 70,000 Ne-
groes, Men, Women,
and Children, viz. Draw-
ers for the Men, Coats
for the Women, and
Waistcoats for both, at
4 s. per Head, which
(allowing for the Hats,
Liveries, and finer
Cloaths of many of the
House-Negroes) is very
moderate

3000 Hogsheads of London and Bristol Lime	3,000	
		17,000
		354,402

That all the foregoing are near the
Truth will (I believe) be granted;
but it must be left to the Gentlemen
of *Barbadoes*, or their Factors in *Eng-
land*, to make an Estimate of most
of the following Articles.

Oats, Pease, and Horse-Beans - - -
Carry over

Brought over

Coach and Saddle Horses from *Eng-*
land, with laying in for them Mens
 and Womens Saddles, Harness,
 Boots, &c. — — — — —
 Coals from *England* (Fire-wood being
 now scarce in *Barbadoes*) and Smith-
 Coals — — — — —
 Fire-Locks, Fowling-Pieces, Pistols,
 Walking-Swords, Gun-Powder,
 &c. — — — — —
 Clock-Work, and Gold and Silver
 Watches — — — — —
 Family Pictures drawn in *England* — —
 [I would have Plate and other Pictures
 omitted, because (allowing for the
 Duty and Fashion of the former,
 and the Risque and Insuranc of
 both) these are Money] — — — — —
 Glafs for Windows, Looking and
 Drinking-Glasses, Toys, &c. — — — — —
 Sweet Oil, Anchovies, Capers, Al-
 monds, Olives, &c. — — — — —
 Currents, Raisins, Pepper, Mace,
 Cloves, Cinnamon, &c. — — — — —
 Upholstery, Bed and Table-Linnen,
 Tables, Chairs, Scrutoires, and o-
 ther Cabinet-Ware — — — — —
 Manufactur'd Pewter and Tin — — — — —
 Tobacco and Pipes from *England*,
 Snuff, Tea, Coffee, *Spanish* and
French Cocoa, Starch, &c. — — — — —
 Stationary Ware — — — — —
 Apothecary Ware — — — — —
 Bricks, Pantiles, Paving-Stone, *China*,
 Earthen, and Stone-Ware — — — — —

Carry over
 Iron-

Brought over
 Iron-Work, viz. Nails of all Sorts for
 Buildings, &c. Carpenters and other
 Workmens Tools, Hinges and Gar-
 nets, Locks of all Sorts, Hoes,
 Hand-Bills, Horse-Shoes, &c.
 Lead, Brass, Coppers for Sugar-Boil-
 ing, Stills, Mill-Work, with the fe-
 veral Utensils for Sugar-making
 Lamp-Oil, Tallow, Sackcloth, &c.
 Fees to Counsel in *England* for Law-
 Suits carried on in *Barbadoes*, and
England —————

Salaries to Agents in *England*, and
 Expence of Negotiating the Public
 Business there —————

And if it be allow'd (says the Author
 of *The Importance of the British Co-
 lonies of America to England*; Lon-
 don, printed for J. Peele, 1731, at
 p. 28.) that they [the Inhabitants of
Barbadoes] are in debt to us [*England*]
 the Sum of 100,000 l. for which they
 pay eight per Cent per Annum In-
 terest, that amounts to ————

And we will suppose (says the same
 Writer, p. 27.) that there are con-
 stantly here in *England* 100 Gentle-
 men of that Island, some for their
 [Health or] Pleasure, and some for
 their Education, who do not live at
 less Expence than 200 l. per Annum
 each —————

8,000

20,000

Carry over

And

Brought over

And the Author of *The present State of the British Sugar Colonies* considered admits, in his Calculation before set down, that the Freight of Linnen, Woollen, Iron, Copper, &c. in the outward bound to *Barbadoes*, is } 4,400
 To which must be added the Duties, Commissions, Shipping Charges, &c. on the Linnen, Woollen, Iron, Copper, &c. exported from *England* to *Barbadoes*.

AS I hope the most rigid *English* Censor will not (if he remembers that *Barbadoes* lies in the *Torrid Zone*, where much Woollen cannot be worn, where a great Quantity of Linnen, and of light or Silk Apparel are absolutely necessary, where small Malt-Drink can neither be brew'd nor preserv'd when imported from *England*, and where the Support of the human Frame, and by consequence the Colony, does, generally speaking, really require more generous Liquor than is needful in *Europe*) find any high Provision made for Luxury in the foregoing Account; so, let but the Cost of these, and some other necessary Articles of the *Barbadoes* annual Consumption that might be named, be fairly stated and allowed for, and I fear very little of the whole 420,000 *l.* nett Profits of the *Barbadoes* yearly Manufacture, or of the 100,000 *l.* Balance (mentioned by the Gentleman I am now concerned with) will appear to be left in *England* to the Credit of the Manufacturers.

NOT but that there are several great Estates in *Barbadoes*, three times more, as I apprehend, than

than in all our *Leward Islands*, whose yearly Profits exceed their Expences by many Hundreds, or rather some Thousands of Pounds, especially such of them as are possessed by Minors; but my meaning is, that a very great Majority, or the Bulk of our Sugar Planters every where are so far from being opulent, that not a few of them are considerably in Debt in *England*, or to the Traders on the several Islands, who are again themselves short in their Returns to *England*, where all the Losses and Gains of all our Sugar Colonies ever center and terminate.

THERE are many in *England*, at least among the Sugar Factors of *London*, *Bristol*, *Leverpole*, &c. who know this Fact perfectly well, and are able to give authentic and irrefragable Documents of it's Truth to those in Power there, whose Business it is to know the same too; and these Factors would doubtless make the Discovery, did they not suspect that it would tend to the Lessening or Discredit of their Employers, and consequently to their own Loss and Disappointment. I am not now considering what may, or may not, be the Interest of the later, who, for ought I know, are finding their Account in the Follies of the former; but if no Patient of common Prudence will hide his Disease, supposing he knows it to be dangerous or mortal, from his Physician, altho' he could not possibly discover it, but in the hearing of others who might perhaps entertain a worse Opinion of him for having contributed to the Disease himself, I cannot see why the Inhabitants of any of our Sugar Colonies, who are *confessedly* labouring under a sore Disease, and on the very point of Destruction, should be so shy as they are of opening their true Condition;

tion; especially now that they are applying for a Cure to the Grand Physician of the State, who has this peculiar Virtue or Quality inherent in him, that he can not only grant a safe and sure Remedy for all their Grievs, if he sees Cause, but also render them more healthful, brisk, and vigorous, and more beneficial both to themselves and the Public than ever they were before; and all this (like him whose Substitute he is) in an Instant, as it were, and with a Word speaking, who needs but to say to his expiring Sugar Colonies, *Be ye whole*, and *dictum factum*, they shall be perfectly whole. Were they to conceal their Condition from such a Physician, and in such an Extremity of Danger, what would all the World say, but that they justly deserve to die unpitied, or at best to linger on a while in pain, misery, and contempt, and then go out like the Snuff of a Candle?

IS there not Cause to lament and accuse the Pride of some among our selves, who, by making a high Ostentation of Wealth, without any solid Foundation, have so much promoted the wrong Notions entertained in *England* of the Sugar Planters in general, and thereby render'd all Applications there for Relief hitherto ineffectual?

T H E Y get (say the *New-England* Agents, speaking of the Sugar Planters) or appear to get Estates, are remarkable for their expensive manner of living; and to bear them complain of Poverty, at the same time that they wanton in Luxury, is as absurd as to see a Beggar in an embroidered Coat and Lace Ruffles craving Alms for God's sake!

I KNOW not whether *Oldmixon* does the Gentlemen of *Barbadoes* Justice in his History of their Island, but, *Who*, says he, p. 125. can think they are under such heavy Loads as they complain of, when

when they can afford Two, Three, Four, and Five Hundred Pounds a Year to their Sons in England, most of them proving Beaus of the first Rate, and distinguishing themselves by the Gaiety of their Dress and Equipage? From whence (as he makes Mr T. Tryon there affirm) it is inferr'd they are grown wonderful rich, insomuch that it can't be thought a-miss, or any Oppression, to lay Impositions upon their Produce, or Commodities.

WHAT Stranger to the Colonies can regard or believe the Complaints of a Sugar Planter at one time, whom he hears confidently averring at another (as we, who know how to confute them, daily hear some in the *Leward Islands* doing) that the nett Profits of his Rum and Molasses pays off all the Charges of his Plantation; and, by Consequence, that all his Sugar, which is something above four fifths of the Produce of his Plantation, is so much clear Gains to him? Next to the sottish Vanity of these Men, I can impute their Confidence to nothing so much as willful Heedlessness, of which none are oftener guilty here, than some who serve as Managers on Estates whose Owners live in *Europe*; for when in some Years (which is but seldom) they have discharged out of the Rum and Molasses, the yearly Calls of Lumber, Horses, Fish, Flower, the Wages of Overseers, and other Workmen, and the Publick and Parish-Taxes, and then of course ship all, or by much the greater part of the Sugar, to their Masters at home, one may hear them boasting loudly what a *Golden Mine* the Plantation is they manage, and something louder of their dextrous Management of it; not considering, that the yearly Supplies of Negroes from *Guinea*, and of Utensils, &c. for the Plantation, which are remitted to them from *England*, are all paid for there out of the clear Pro-

fits of the Sugar. But however we may shut our Eyes against this ridiculous Error, some in the World observe it well enough, and do but laugh at us for our Folly. See what a Jest the Author of the *Remarks on The present State of the British Sugar Colonies* consider'd makes of us, p. 27.

‘ THE Gentlemen of *Barbadoes* (*says he*)
 ‘ could not perhaps have taken a more improp-
 ‘ per Time to complain of any Hardship, as
 ‘ they have imported no less into the Port of
 ‘ *London* in the Year 1730. than 17,077 Hogf-
 ‘ heads and 256 Barrels of Sugar from that Island
 ‘ only, beside the Quantity imported to the Out-
 ‘ ports, which I will only allow to be one Third
 ‘ of the Hogheads imported to *London*, viz.
 ‘ 5692 Hogheads, in all 22769 Hogheads,
 ‘ each Hoghead Weight in *Barbadoes* 13 Hund.
 ‘ will amount to 295,997 Hund. which, at 1 l.
 ‘ 3 s. per Hund. in *Barbadoes*, must amount to
 ‘ 340,391 l. 11 s. no inconsiderable Sum, when
 ‘ we consider the Smallness of that Island, which
 ‘ is not much bigger than the *Isle of Wight*, and
 ‘ the Number of People (which the Gentlemen
 ‘ of that Island assure us are very few) amongst
 ‘ whom this Sum is to be divided. But when
 ‘ we consider that all this is clear Profit, be-
 ‘ cause these very Gentlemen have already pro-
 ‘ ved before the *Honourable Committee*, that the
 ‘ Rum and Molasses pays all the Charges of the
 ‘ Plantation; and if we farther allow what we
 ‘ reasonably may, that but one Twentieth Part
 ‘ of their Sugar was taken off their Hands by
 ‘ the Northern Colonies, the whole Amount of
 ‘ their Profits in the Year 1730, only comes to
 ‘ 360,306 l. 18 s. a Sum so prodigious when
 ‘ considered as clear Profit, that it may seem
 ‘ incredible whenever it shall be related, that
 ‘ a few People (very few as they themselves say)
 were

‘ were so bad Oeconomists, that they could not
 ‘ live on such a mighty Income, but petition’d
 ‘ like People in Distress, and under the greatest
 ‘ Calamities, for the Means of getting more.’

W H O they were that prov’d before the *Honourable Committee*, and with what Arguments they proved it, that *the Rum and Molasses pays all the Charges of the Plantation*, I know not; but certainly never was a fouler Imposition put upon Men of Sense and Honour before, as is evident from the Demonstration of the Author of *The present State of the British Sugar Colonies consider’d*, at p. 22, 23. where on the one Side the yearly nett Profits of the Rum and Molasses of *Barbadoes* (reckoning I believe a little of the highest) amount to no more than 80,000 *l.* and on the other the yearly Costs of the Plantation there in Slaves, Wine, Provisions, Lumber, and Horses, to 210,000 *l.* beside (reckoning in this, and some of the preceeding, as I take it, not a little too short) 100,000 *l.* for Linnen, Woollen, Iron, Copper, &c. From whence, admitting even his large Account of the Value of the Rum and Molasses, and his short or imperfect one of the Plantation Costs to be right, it appears, that the Produce of the Rum and Molasses is but just one Fifth of the Costs of the Plantation. His Remarkers, however he would seem to dissemble this and some other Matters, presently discern’d the Deceit, and only makes use of it against the Sugar Planters by way of Reproach, or as an Argument *ad hominem*, which every body knows is nothing but Banter when in itself inconclusive. *These very Gentlemen*, says he, (meaning those of *Barbadoes*, the most wealthy, most opulent, and gayest People in His Majesty’s Dominions, even very few about his Courts excepted, whose clear Profits of their Sugar alone in the Year 1730 amounted to

360,3051. 18 s.) these very Gentlemen have prov'd, that the Rum and Molasses pays all the Charges of the Plantation.

BEHOLD what Pride hath profited us! and what good our groundless vaunting of Riches hath brought us!

BUT to make the main Point more perspicuous, if possible, I shall here, first present the Reader with a Calculation I have somewhere met with, of the real or intrinsic Value of the Land and Stock of Barbadoes at this Time; and next with a Conversation of two Days, between a Merchant in London, and a Planter of that Island.

The Calculation.

Admit (says my Calculator) there is	l.
no more but 80,000 Acres of manurable Land in Barbadoes, worth,	1,600,000
at an Average, 20 l. per Acre —	
70,000 Negroes, Men, Women, and Children, worth one with another,	1,540,000
22 l. each — — — — —	
Other Stock, Sugar Buildings, and Implements to employ the White and Black Inhabitants, to the Value of only — — — — —	1,860,000

Total — — — 5,000,000

The first Day's Dialogue.

Merchant. I'm glad to see you look so well after this long Voyage from Barbadoes.

Planter. The Sea seldom disorders me; we had a good Passage, short of six Weeks. I think I have not seen you since we parted at Oxford: How have you pass'd the Time?

M. My

M. My Father took me into his Compting-House, instructed me in Mercantile Matters, sent me to almost all the noted Trading Towns of *Europe*, and then gave me a handsome Stock to set up for myself, which Heaven has so prospered that I am now upwards of 20,000 *l.* before hand. — But how have you done in *Barbadoes*?

P. You know how we Planters live: You have been for some time concern'd in the *West-India* Trade.

M. I have; and wish I had fallen into it sooner: I have got so well by *Barbadoes*, that I wou'd purchase a Plantation there. Can you direct me?

P. I see you must have some part of my Story: — On my Return to *Barbadoes*, I had my Sister's Portion, and some other Incumbrances to discharge, which kept me back a little, but by *GOD's* Blessing on my Industry soon got over all: I left my Plantation about two Months since, well stock'd and settled, and my last *Account Current* from my Factor here credits me with a Balance of 8000 *l.* — I have three Children; my two Sons, whom you have seen, are still at *Westminster* School, and my Wife and little Daughter are come home with me. My Grandmother's Father had a small Estate in the North, which he spent or lost in following the Fortunes of the two *Charles's*, which forced him to the *West-Indies*, and after the Restoration King *Charles II.* gave him nothing but Thanks for all his Services and Sufferings. I have some Thoughts of buying that Estate. — So that if you are for a Plantation in *Barbadoes*, I don't know but you may have mine.

M. With all my Heart; whereabouts may the Price be?

P. 160 Acres of Land at 20 <i>l.</i> per Acre, is	3200	
200 Negroes, young and old, at one	}	4400
with another, 22 <i>l.</i> per Head		
All the other Stock, Sugar-Buildings,	}	5400
and Utensils — — — — —		
Total		13000

You'll meet with forty Gentlemen here in *London* who know my Plantation; ask if it be not a Pennyworth.

M. I will; when shall I wait on you next?

P. I'm going to pass a Month or two with some Relations in *Yorkshire*; I'll let you know when I return.

The second Day's Dialogue.

Merchant. How do you like travelling in *England*?

Planter. How can I but like it? Besides, I have seen the Estate I told you of: in my Great Grandfather's Time it was worth about 300*l.* a Year, but now they say it is worth near as much more.

M. To the Point: In advising with Friends about the Purchase of your Estate in *Barbadoes*, I find all you said of it to be true; but have since happened to see a Calculate of the Value of all the Land and Stock of *Barbadoes* at present, amounting to five Millions, which is, as I am told, much of the lowest, and another (which I have long been wishing for, but never could meet with from so good a Hand before) of the usual annual Nett Produce of that Island, amounting to 420,000*l.* which however is thought by some to be a little of the highest. But allowing both

to be as exact as possible, the latter is but two Fifths more than *Eight per Cent.* upon the former, and the Balance of 100,000 *l.* said to be left to the Planters in general (after the usual annual Costs of the Plantation according to this Calculation, viz. 320,000 *l.* are allowed for) only Two *per Cent.* or 100,000 *l.* on the Principal of Five Millions; and it is hard if Five Millions, or any Sum you please, may not be made to gain near as much by other honest Ways and Means, and without one's stirring out of *England* himself, as 8 *l.* 8 *s.* *per Cent.* and (after allowing for all the necessary Costs of Business and Living) much more than Two *per Cent. per Annum* out of the nett Profits of the Principal. This, to be free with you, staggers me!

P. Be as free as you please.

M. If I purchase your Plantation, I shall not, for Reasons needless to be told to you, leave it to Attorney and a Manager, but live on the Spot, and take Care of it myself. 'Tis said there is some Risque, tho' not more than from hence to *Newcastle*, in the Voyage. My Lord *Belhaven* was lost in going thither, and Mr *Gordon* not long since in coming from thence. A Stranger too, they say, must expect a *Seasoning* there on his Arrival, which proves fatal to many.

P. That is trifling.

M. I believe there is not much in it when a Man is regular, and takes Care of himself.

P. Very little.

M. But it has been often observed, that there are not so many old People in the *Torrid Zone*, in proportion, as in our *Temperate* one; that a Man of fifty or fifty four Years of Age is a rarer Spectacle in *Barbadoes*, than one of sixty among the like Number of People here in *England*; and that all the Infirmities of Threescore here, are frequently

quently to be found upon one of five and forty there. I am now in my thirty second Year, and have not, I thank God, lived so as to be afraid to die; but for all that, Life is a Blessing, and may be made to serve many good Ends. I would not for a great deal be accessary to the shortening of mine by ten or six Years; at least not for 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. and less for 2 per Cent. on the Principal, which I find is the most that is made by the Estates of *Barbadoes*, after the necessary Costs of Planting and Living are discharged.

P. Do you think I get no more by my Plantation in *Barbadoes*.

M. I know better. You, and others of my Acquaintance there, live with more true Splendor and Elegance than the most Luxurious of them all, and yet lay up Money. But it cannot be denied

P. Is there no such thing as Luxury in *England*.

M. Never more: But you seem to misapprehend me. I was going to say, that, if there is any Truth in the two Calculations now mentioned, it is impossible the Bulk of the Sugar Planters should be considerable Gainers, or rather it is not possible but the Bulk of them must be considerable Losers, as it is all the World over with the Luxurious, Negligent, and Unfortunate. Who the Luxurious are is obvious; I call that Man Negligent who lives at random upon Credit, without attending duly to his Situation in the World; and with me he is Unfortunate whose Situation is such that he is compelled to live much on Credit, and cannot lay up something of his nett Profits every Year, or something very considerable in a seasonable or fruitful Year to make amends for the Deficiencies of the unseasonable or unfruitful, which are more frequent

frequent in the Sugar Colonies than elsewhere. Does not a Hurricane, or a Dry-weather Year, set a Planter farther back than a seasonable Year can advance him?

P. It cannot be otherwise; for the Charges of a Plantation are much the same in most Articles, and greater in some in such a Year; and the nett Profits is not above half of what they use to be in a fruitful Year.

M. Is not the Planter undone when a Mortality seizes the Negroes, if he has not wherewithal to renew his Stock?

P. My Loss in Slaves was less than some of my Neighbours: I constantly cloathed and fed mine to the full, and seldom had Occasion to over-work them. Tho' Food is often scarce and dear in *Barbadoes*, it is always cheaper than Physic.

M. For my own Part, I believe I should live as frugally, and manage as well too as yourself, after I had gained Experience in Plantation Business: But who knows but it would fare with my Posterity as with *the Many*, if they lay under the like Temptations, and were fixed in the like Situation?

P. What should hinder the Bulk of our Planters from being frugal, and managing to the best Advantage, and by consequence from growing rich?

M. The same that hinders so many People every where from being good, virtuous, diligent, and successful. But suppose, for Argument sake, that all the Sugar Planters of *Barbadoes* were frugal and industrious, yet (*let the hidden Cause lie where it will*) if the Land and Stock of the whole be Five Millions, and the nett Profits only 420,000 *l.* or admitting that, after the yearly Plantation Costs (which the Planters are neces-

family obliged to be at to support themselves, and their Plantations) viz. 320,000*l.* are discharged, there remains to them in common out of the said nett annual Profits of 420,000*l.* a Balance of 100,000*l.* it is impossible in the Nature of the Thing, that all, or even the Bulk of them should be rich. For what, I pray, is 2 *per Cent. per Annum* (and 100,000*l.* from Five Millions is not a Penny more) in any Way of Life whatsoever any where in *Europe*, much more in the *West-Indies* where the Number of Risques is manifestly greater? And yet, let the Author of the last Calculation make, when he pleases, a more perfect Enumeration of the necessary Plantation Costs of *Barbadoes* than he has done, and he will find nothing of that Balance, or of that 2 *per Cent.* Superlucration (small as it is) coming to the Bulk of the Sugar Planters, and nothing near so much as some give out, even to the most frugal and industrious. Consider the Matter seriously at your Leisure, and you will perceive the Certainty of it both in Reason and Fact.

P. I will.
 M. I know not how I should brook to live with so many Slaves as our Government (without making Provision for their Instruction in Religion) have made necessary for carrying on a Sugar Plantation. We *Englishmen* above all the World cannot justify to our Consciences the bringing our Fellow-Creatures, *who never did us any harm*, into a Condition so justly odious to ourselves. I have heard strange Stories of their Rebellions in *Barbadoes*, which yet according to the Notions entertained of natural Right and Liberty, seem to be not altogether unjustifiable. There was (says Mr *W. Moyle* in his *Argument against a Standing Army*, printed 1697.) a French Colony

Colony in the West-Indies who having War with the neighbouring Indians, and being tired in their March with the extremity of Heat, made their Slaves (I suppose their Negroes) carry their Arms; who, taking that Opportunity, fell upon them, and cut them to Pieces — It is a ridiculous Imagination to conceive Men will be Servants when they may be Masters. We often pray (says a later Writer) for the Propagation of Christianity; and yet of how little use would that be to a People who were not free? Let us join to it our Wishes, that these two invaluable Blessings may go together, and that with a Religion which is itself perfect Freedom, the whole Race of Mankind may be restored to that Liberty which is their undoubted natural Right; which they may be robbed of, but can never forfeit. I believe I should have but small Heart to worship my Saviour at Church, if I remembred I had 200 Wretches about my House, who knew nothing of the common Salvation purchased by him. In my Way of Thinking it is no small Infelicity to a Man to be obliged to be the Master of such a Family, and what no Christian would chuse if he knew (as I do) how to help it.

P. A Cure may be found for that.

M. I hope there will; I am sure it nearly concerns us all, as we are *Freemen* and *Christians*, to consider the Case of *these poor Creatures*, in which we have trifled so shamefully hitherto.

P. Have you any more to say?

M. A good deal. ‘Is it not a Damage to Barbadoes (as Sir William Petty long since observed in the fifth Chapter of his *Political Arithmetic*) that the Goods which might pass thence immediately to several Parts of the World, and to be sold at moderate Rates, must first come into *England*, and there pay Duties, and afterwards pass into those Countries to which they

‘ might have gone immediately?’ *The French have several good Vends for their Sugars, whilst yours are confined to Great Britain, and lie here perishing in the Ware-houses. How can this but discourage People from making Purchases amongst you?*

P. That Grievance admits of an easy Remedy.

M. Again; What Stranger will covet to be a Proprietor in *Barbadoes*, who has heard what heavy Oppressors some of your Governors have been? I need not repeat Matters to you. Certain it is, what former Governors have been future ones may be. And tho’ I should either tamely submit to the worst in my own Particular, as knowing the almost insuperable Difficulties of obtaining Reparation at such a Distance from hence, or else join in a decent and vigorous Opposition to them ’till Redress could be obtained; yet, such a State of Acquiescence under undeserved or illegal Impositions, on the one Hand, or of perpetual Struggle and Contention, on the other, is what no prudent Man would desire to be in who has it in his Power (as it is now in mine) to sit down where he pleases. I am told this Abuse has been so long improving, that it is now become intolerable in some Colonies, and at the same time incurable in all by any other Method than what was in the Year 1698 recommended by Dr *Davenant* in the second Part of his *Discourses on the Public Revenues*, who says at p. 243. *Hardly any thing would more conduce to the good Government of our Plantations, than to follow one Course which the King of France observes strictly in his; and that is, to give very large Appointments to the Governors out of his own Coffers, not allowing them any Perquisites, or to draw any Advantages, or Profit, from the Inhabitants.*

P. When

P. When the *Doctor's* Advice shall be taken I know not; but such a Conduct towards our Sugar Colonies seem to be the more eligible, because we are all so bound up in our Mother-Nation, and under so constant, unalterable, and absolute a Dependence on her in all Things, even to the very Article of Food and Raiment, that I question much whether any one of us could subsist for Three Months together without her Support.

M. You seem to like the *Doctor's* Notions; I have his Book in my Pocket; shall I read you Part of the Paragraph next before this?

P. Let me hear it.

M. *He who is to command a Country should be a Man of Abilities, Experience, Dexterity, Courage, Temper, and Virtue; he ought to be endowed with such a general Knowledge, as may comprehend the Nature of the Soil where he is, what Improvements it is capable of, and what Trades will be most advantageous to it. He should be able likewise to look into the Genius of the People he is to govern; He should be a Man of Discipline, Sobriety, and Justice; for he that is not so in his own Person, can never expect Order, nor compel others to obey the Laws. A People whom Riches and Plenty furnish Matter for Vice and Luxury [Here the Doctor goes on the Notions in England of the Opulence of the southward Colonies] should be governed by a strict and skilful Hand, which may reform their Manners, and at the same time, both promote and direct their Industry.*

P. The *Doctor* is in the right: The Weakness of some of our Governors, the wicked Lives of some others, and the insatiable Avarice of almost all of them, have brought on many of our Woes.

M. What

M. What he says at p. 246, is also to my Purpose. It must be very prejudicial to the Colonies, that many Offices and Places of Trust there, should be granted by Patent to Persons in England, with Liberty to execute such Employments by Deputies, by which means they are generally farmed out to indigent Persons who grind and fleece the People. So that the Inhabitants, tho' many of them are rich, sober, and judicious Men, yet they are excluded from Offices of Trust, except such as are chargeable in the Execution, which is inconsistent with all the Rules of well governing a Country. Is not this the Case of Barbadoes? Have not your Representatives sometimes publicly complained, that all Persons in Office under the Governor are busied in nothing else but how to raise Fortunes, from the Ruins of the People, by inventing new Fees and Perquisites, and increasing the former Fees and Emoluments of their several Offices? and that the Governor (who finds his Advantage in it underhand) encourages and countenances these Deputies, whose Principals live in England, in taking most exorbitant and illegal Fees, to the great Oppressing and Impoverishing of the People, who do but in vain complain thereof? As I think I could manage one of those profitable Offices or Places of Trust as well as the hungry Deputy of the Patentee in England, who has no Interest in the Welfare or Quiet of Barbadoes, this is another discouragement to me from being your Chapman.

P. My Plantation was both my Business and my Pleasure; I cared for none of their Offices.

M. We have been credibly informed, says Oldmixon (p. 66. of his History of Barbadoes) there were not seven Rounds of Powder in the Forts when Monsieur Pointy came in sight of Barbadoes, as he was sailing to Carthagen; and had he known what Circumstances the Barbadians were in, perhaps

haps he had ended his Expedition before he reached the Continent. And notwithstanding the 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. Duty was granted (among other Uses) for the Reparation of the Forts, yet what Lamentations do your People still make, that the Fortifications, Breast-Works, and Batteries are gone to Ruin, that the Militia is totally neglected, and the public Money imbezzled and wasted in Barbadoes, which has been in danger more than once from our European Neighbours? Might not the Consequences prove terrible, if it was to be attempted again by a Neighbour whose Strength in the West-Indies is daily increasing, whilst ours is mouldering away? Was there nothing else, this would much lower the Value of the Land and Stock of Barbadoes with me.

P. I perceive you will not give me an Opportunity of lowering the Price of mine.

M. For these and other Causes that might be assigned, I confess, I have laid aside the Thoughts of making a Purchase in your Island. And considering how Things stand, I do not wonder that you should desire to settle again in your Mother Country; many more of your Brother Planters would do so too, if they knew how to dispose of their Stock and Plantations, which their Neighbours cannot buy for want of Money; and none of our money'd Men here, will take them off their Hands, as knowing how to employ their Money better. As little am I surprized that several of your People are removing with their Stock and Families to the northern Plantations, where a Man may call his Acquisitions his own; you would all do the same, or something like it, if it was practicable. Barbadoes has been long, and is still, a good Milch-Cow, or (to speak more in the Fashion) a Golden-Mine to England. The Difference as I take it,
betwixt

betwixt our *North* and *South* Colonies with respect to their Inhabitants and their Mother Country, lies thus: All the former (unless I should except the two Tobacco Colonies) are highly beneficial to themselves, but something less to *England*; all the Sugar Colonies are most beneficial to *England* (or, if you can excuse a harsh but just Expression, *our Slaves and Drudges*) but very little (and on many Accounts, *injurious*) to themselves. I wish it was, I am sure it might have been, otherwise. Sir *Josiah Child* in his Chapter of Plantations (of which all the Writers in *England* on Plantation Affairs that I have seen, *Davenant* excepted, are but the miserable Transcribers) lays it down (p. 195.) as a certain Conclusion from the Principles there advanced by him, that "It is in the Power of His Majesty, and the Parliament, if they please — to make Sugar more intirely an *English* Commodity than *White Herrings* are a *Dutch* Commodity, and to draw more Profit to this Kingdom thereby than the *Dutch* do by that, and in consequence thereof to sink in a few Years to little or nothing all the Sugar Plantations of other Nations." Hear Dr *Davenant* again, p. 255. *Care should undoubtedly be taken not to lay such heavy Duties on the West-India Commodities, as may discourage Industry, dispeople the Islands, and in process of time, perhaps, make the Planters Desperate.*

P. Now you talk of making us desperate, I hope you have done.

M. Yes; and tho' I shall not buy your Plantation, should be glad to know what Answer can be given to all this.

P. You have been long; I will consider the Matter, as you advise, and then give an Answer.

M. Do; I shall expect it with some Impatience.

betwixt

II. I come

II. I come next to the *Leward Islands*, viz, *Antego*, *Montserat*, *Nevis*, and *St Christopher's*, of which I shall say very little of my own, but chuse to treat of them in the Words of the Author of *The Account of the Sale of the French Lands in St Christopher's*, who for that end hath put a Copy of his Manuscript in my Hands, with Power to make use of as much of it as I think fit. The Reader will please to remember, as he goes along, that it was written in the Year 1727.

I pass over the Historical Part, which contains the Publications of the Commissioners (who were appointed to sell these Lands) at *S. Christopher's*, the Proposals made to them by the Possessors of the *French Lands*, the Conditions and manner of the Sale, the Form of the Contract between the King and the Purchasers, with the Author's Observations upon it, the several Steps taken by the Commissioners in negotiating the Whole, the strange Amusements by which they gain'd their Point on the intimidated Possessors, who expected no other but to be instantly dispossess'd, unless they yielded to whatever was demanded of them, as not knowing, on such an Event, where to go, or what to do with their Slaves and Live-Stock, which, without Land to plant upon, must (in a Place where it is impossible, as every one knows who knows *S. Christopher's* or the *Leward Islands*, to dispose of them for Ready Money) have soon dwindled away and come to nothing, together with the Difficulties the Commissioners found in raising the first Third of the Purchase-Money from Men who had it not to pay, and the Arts they took to surmount those Difficulties, whereby the Purchasers were reduc'd to mortgage their Slaves

and Stock, and even the very Contracts they were coming under with His Majesty, to Merchants in *London*, or Stock-jobbers in *S. Christopher's*, who now may more truly be said to be the Proprietors of the *French* Lands there, as well as of their yearly Produce, than the present Possessors. These I pass over as not so pertinent to my Purpose, and shall only take Notice of Four of the many Arguments which my Author says were alleged in Justification of the Sale.

1. THAT the Profit of a Plantation in *S. Christopher's* is too well known in *England*, for the Possessors to pretend they cannot pay the Purchase-Money.

2. THAT an Estate in *S. Christopher's* is now as secure as almost any where else, because, besides the Forts and Bulwarks along the Shore, their inland Fortification on *Brimstone-Hill* has been lately render'd so regular and strong, as to pass (to speak in the Phrase of those who know it well) *all the Power of France to take it.*

3. I have heard it affirm'd (*says my Author*) by some who cannot but know the Truth, That the Reason why the Sale was begun and carried on with such Secrecy and Dispatch, was purely to prevent the Plague of farther Sollicitations, there being scarce any thing to be said in Favour of the Possessors, which had not been known and thoroughly consider'd in *England*, long before the Commission was made out for the Sale.

4. THAT, notwithstanding the thriving Condition of the *French-Ground* Planters, no more than one Third of the Purchase-Money is demanded down, and no less than five Years given for paying the Remainder, on the moderate Terms of Ten *per Cent. per Annum* Interest, which

which the Produce of their Lands will more than discharge within that Time.

1. IN considering the First, among other Observations my Author makes a Comparison between the Soil and Sugar-Canes of *St Christopher's* and of the next Island, *Nevis*, which lying very near *St Christopher's* may be supposed to vary less from it in the Weather than the remoter Islands. ' The Soil of *St Christopher's* (says he) ' being almost all over loose, sandy, and gravelly, is soon washed away by the Rains; it is ' not better'd by dunging except close under the ' Mountains; and the greater part even of the ' best Land must be planted every Crop, very ' little of it yielding a *Ratoon* (that is, when the ' ripe Cane being cut off, the same Root shoots ' forth new Branches) or not *ratooning* above ' once: Whereas in *Nevis*, tho' there is scarce ' a Plantation there but what is rocky, and ' near half covered with Stones, yet the little ' Mould they have being on a Clay, mixed in ' some Places with Potter's Earth, retains it's ' natural Vigour better where it has been longest planted; it is capable of being improved ' by Dung; every part of it *ratoons* once or ' twice, and some of it in the dry lower Grounds, ' where such an Advantage is most wanted, for ' seven or eight Years running; and (which is ' more considerable) altho' the Canes in *St Christopher's*, generally speaking, appear more promising, and grow longer and thicker, being ' in many Fields of an Inch and a half Diameter, and from four to six and seven Feet in the ' Joints, yet one Gallon of the *Nevis* Cane-Juice ' or Liquor seldom makes less than twentyfour ' Ounces of *Muscovado* Sugar, and in some ' Places two Pounds, or more; whereas in *St*

‘ *Christopher’s* it is thought no bad Yielding
 ‘ when a Pound of Sugar is made from a Gallon
 ‘ of Liquor. For the Truth of this I appeal
 ‘ to any Man that ever was in the two Islands,
 ‘ and thought it worth while to look into the
 ‘ Matter.

‘ AS to what some have given out in *England*
 ‘ of the huge Increase of the Lands, *viz.* that in
 ‘ many Places one Acre will produce 7 or 8000
 ‘ Pounds of Sugar, or more, and 4 or 5000
 ‘ throughout, their Assertion is manifestly false;
 ‘ for supposing 12,000 Acres of Plants and *Ra-*
 ‘ *toons* to be reaped every Year in *St Christo-*
 ‘ *pher’s* (and there has generally been more for
 ‘ the last nine or ten Years) and that the 12,000
 ‘ Acres yield, one with another, 3000 Pounds
 ‘ of Sugar, this, allowing 1500 Pounds to a
 ‘ Tierce, will amount to 24,000 Tierces a
 ‘ Year, whereas it is notorious that Island has
 ‘ not made above half so much (and if the
 ‘ Custom-house Books may be credited, nothing
 ‘ near half so much) in any one Year during
 ‘ that Time _____

‘ LAND has of late been so magnified in
 ‘ *St Christopher’s* as if nothing more was requi-
 ‘ site to Sugar-making; and the Commissioners
 ‘ have sold such Parcels of the *French* Lands
 ‘ as were fit for little else than Pasture or Provi-
 ‘ sions at 5, 6, or 7 *l.* Sterling *per* Acre, such as
 ‘ were better at 8 to 12 *l.* and such as were ac-
 ‘ counted best at 12 to 17 *l.* And the whole
 ‘ at 20 Years Purchase, *viz.* five Years Pur-
 ‘ chase, which was called *the first Third*, paid
 ‘ in Hand, one Year’s Purchase every Year for
 ‘ five Years running, paid half yearly, which
 ‘ they called *the Interest at ten per Cent. on the*
 ‘ *remaining two Thirds*; and ten Years Purchase
 ‘ more, *or the remaining two Thirds*, to be paid
 ‘ at

at the end of the five Years. What Ground they went on in fixing the Purchase (which was left intirely to their own Discretion) I know not; but to come at something certain concerning the Value of Land here, it is necessary to look into the Costs and Profits of a Sugar Plantation in the *Leward Islands*.

LET us then, for a Trial, take 200 Acres at 12 *l.* per Acre, after the Manner these Gentlemen have sold Land in *St Christopher's*.

[FOR the understanding of this, I must go back a little to the Historical Part of this Sale. The great Difficulty (*says my Author*) at present on the Commissioners Hands was how to get in the first Payment, which they knew could not be done (according to the Conditions of Sale) in a *Lunary Month*; and therefore however pressing they were with the Purchasers in private, their Discourse in public was, that they were not yet at Leisure to receive the first Payment, but that Notice should be given when to bring it in. In the mean while, some of the Purchasers having desired Time to send their Bills to *Barbadoes* (*St Christopher's*, and the other *Leward Islands*, not affording *Specie* enough to pay the first Third) to raise the Money, the Commissioners readily granted it. For tho' no mention was made of it in the Conditions of Sale, nor yet when the first Agreements were struck, they now declared to the Purchasers *by word of mouth*, that no Bills of Exchange on *England* would be taken in Payment from any Person whatsoever, but that all must be paid in the Island-Money at fifty *per Cent.* Advance. (In *St Christopher's* and all the *Leward Islands* a *Pistole* or *Louis d'or* passes at 28 *s.* a *Moidore* at 42 *s.* a *Guinea* at 33 *s.* a *Piece of Eight* at 6 *s.* and an *English Crown* at

' at 7s. 6d.) There are two Reasons for this;
 ' One, that they knew very few of the Bills would
 ' have been honoured in *London*, most of the
 ' Purchasers having nothing in their Factors
 ' Hands, and many of them being in Debt
 ' in *England*. The other must be left a sort
 ' of Secret; for however the *Premium* on
 ' Bills of Exchange had govern'd in *Antego*, for
 ' some Years at 50 *per Cent.* yet in the other
 ' *Leward Islands* it had not for many Years been
 ' more than forty, and at that time no Man
 ' could get above 40 *per Cent.* on his Bills. So
 ' that this obliging of the Purchasers to pay 150*l.*
 ' of the Island-Money, in lieu of 100*l.* Sterling,
 ' was a Benefit to some Body; and yet (for this
 ' Part of the Treaty was wholly *Verbal*) the Com-
 ' missioners would not give a Discharge at the
 ' foot of the Contract, for so much of the
 ' Island-Money received in lieu of so much Ster-
 ' ling, but actually for so much Sterling. If
 ' you waited on them with 140*l.* of our Money
 ' in lieu of 100*l.* Sterling, and told them (as the
 ' Truth was) that you could get no more Cash
 ' for your Bills, from any Money'd-man in *St*
 ' *Christopher's*, or any where else, (for as soon
 ' as the Traders of *Antego* heard how Things
 ' stood, they would give no more for Bills than
 ' the Currency at *St Christopher's*) and if they
 ' would not accept of the 140*l.* Cash, they might
 ' have the Bills on your Factors in *London*, it
 ' was to no Purpose. They would have 150*l.*
 ' of the Island-Money in lieu of 100*l.* Sterling,
 ' otherwise you might let it alone; which was in
 ' Effect (as the People were taught to under-
 ' stand it) to tell the trembling Possessor or Pur-
 ' chaser, you must quit Possession, and be gone else-
 ' where with your Family, Negroes, and Stock, and
 ' leave your Canes, Buildings, and Improvements,
 ' behind

behind you, which no Body bid you to put there;
 you have nothing to do with the King's Land. And
 tho' there was no such thing in the Contract,
 as paying in the Country-Money at 50 per
 Cent. Advance, but that any Purchaser might
 have insisted on their receiving his Bills, both
 as that is the common Way of paying Sterling
 in these Parts, and as the Law in *St Christopher's*
 has lump'd the Costs and Interest on a Protest-
 ed Bill at 20 per Cent. yet such Fears were
 they still in of being instantly dispossest'd, that
 not one amongst them dar'd to stand it. Alas!
 what will not Men submit to when threatned
 with instant Ruin, and govern'd by the Di-
 ctates of Fear! The Possessors were not igno-
 rant when they came into these Contracts that
 the Land was really too dear, and that they
 could not propose to pay the Price set upon it
 within the Time limited, if ever, any other
 Way than by mortgaging it to Strangers; but
 then they knew not how to keep their Slaves
 and Stock alive, if once dispossest'd; and they
 knew the Commissioners had power to dispo-
 sess them, and that it was not in itself unjust,
 their Grants from the Crown being only during
 Pleasure, to dispossest them: And tho' some
 were not wanting to put them in mind, that ma-
 ny Things may be justly done which Prudence
 and a Concern for the general Utility will not
 suffer to be done, (for had the Commissioners
 dispossest'd them, neither They nor their
 [misinform'd] Employers, knew where to find
 others to put in their Room, without encoura-
 ging the Planters to fall down from *Barbadoes*
 and the other Islands to settle at *St Christopher's*,
 which would have been to stop one Gap, by ma-
 king a worse amongst ourselves, whilst the Per-
 sons dispossest'd must of necessity have fled to
 the

' the *French* and *Dutch* for Succour, where they
 ' would have been received with open Arms,
 ' and got Land enough *for nothing*) yet they re-
 ' garded more the Danger before their Eyes,
 ' than the Counsel of their Friends, or the Rea-
 ' son of the Case. Certainly, such was the Ter-
 ' ror they were in, and such their Abhorrence
 ' at the same Time of flying to Foreigners,
 ' (which was also attended with numberless Dif-
 ' ficulties) that I verily believe if the Commis-
 ' sioners had ask'd 40 or 50 *l.* for each Acre of
 ' the *French* Land, many of them would have
 ' yielded to have given it, or at least would
 ' have said so, merely like Slaves under Cor-
 ' rection, who to get rid of present Lashes, and
 ' to gain time to breathe, will often confess
 ' or promise, just as their Tormentors would
 ' have them.' Now to return where I left off.]

' THE first Third, or the first five Years
 ' Purchase, to be paid in a Lunary Month from
 ' the Day of the Agreement, is 800 *l.* or 1200 *l.*
 ' of the Island-Money; which 1200 *l.* of the
 ' Island-Money, if rais'd (as the Purchasers of
 ' *St Christopher's* were forc'd to do) by Bills at
 ' 40 *per Cent.* Advance, will cost 857 *l.* 2 *s.* 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*
 ' Sterling.

' THE Second five Years Purchase, or their
 ' Interest at ten *per Cent.* on the other two Thirds
 ' for five Years, if paid after the same manner,
 ' (as probable it will; though, the Truth is, it
 ' may be exacted in what Manner or *Specie* the
 ' Receivers shall think fit, there being no Pro-
 ' vision made for it in the Contract) will amount
 ' to the like Sum, *viz.* 857 *l.* 2 *s.* 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*

' THE Survey at 12 *d.* *per* Acre, and five
 ' Pistoles for writing the Contract, (which was
 ' the Price for every Contract, whether for 200
 ' Acres, or for the smallest Spot) 12 *l.* 2 *s.* 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*

' THE

‘ THE Cost of the 200 Acres at 12l. per Acre, is

	l.	s.	d.
‘ THE first Third paid down -	857	2	10½
‘ THE Interest at Ten per Cent. on the other two Thirds for five Years — — — — —	857	2	10½
‘ TEN Years purchase more, or the other two Thirds at the End of 5 Years (if rais’d here by Bills at 40, and paid in the Island-Money, at 50 per Cent. Advance) — — — — —	1714	5	8½
‘ SURVEYING and Writing the Contract — — — — —	12	2	10½
<hr/>			
Total - -	3440	14	3¼

‘ I omit the Charge of the Grant, or approv’d Conveyance in Law, to be made to the Purchaser at the End of the five Years, because it is omitted in the Contract; but such Conveyances will doubtless cost Money, just what the Sellers shall demand.

‘ AND I say nothing of the Interest the far greater part of the Purchasers have now to pay to the Jobbers, who have furnished them with Money to answer the first Payment, or which they may hereafter have to pay to those that furnish them with Money to discharge the Remainder, which we might well suppose to be something beyond the common Interest, and by Consequence a heavy Charge on the Purchaser, although it should put nothing directly into the Seller’s Pocket.

• THE next Requisite to Sugar-making, and
 • the most momentous as the World goes, is the
 • *Negro-Slaves*, less than 150 of which, Young
 • and Old, cannot manure 200 Acres with any
 • tolerable Prospect of Advantage. While the
 • *African Company* flourish'd, the Supplies from
 • *Guinea* were regular and certain, and they sold
 • the Slaves cheaper, and gave longer Credit for
 • them (which was the making of all the *Leward*
 • *Islands*) than other Traders will, or can afford
 • to do. Boys and Girls have of late cost 14 to
 • 20 *l. Sterling*, Women 20 to 28 *l.* and Men 24
 • to 30 *l.* or more. Take them at 22 *l. per Head*,
 • and this comes to 3300 *l. Sterling*.

• A good and substantial Dwelling-House,
 • Boiling-House, Curing-House, and Still-House,
 • as set forth in the Conditions of Sale, with the
 • Stables, and Out-housing, cannot be built for
 • 1500 *l.*

• THE Coppers, Stills, and other Implements
 • and Utensils for the Boiling, Curing, and Still-
 • Houses, and a Cattle-Mill, 1000 *l.*

• AND if a Wind-Mill should be thought
 • needful (as indeed it is) on a Plantation of
 • 200 Acres, that would cost little less than
 • 1000 *l.*

• THEN Horses from the *North-Continent*,
 • Mules from *Porto-rico*, *Curaçoa*, or the *Spanish*
 • Main, which are sold at 20 to 28 *l. Sterling*
 • per Head, Carts, Cart-Cattle, and other Ap-
 • pendices, too numerous to be set down here,
 • 1500 *l.*

• HERE is about 8000 *l. Sterling* to be laid
 • out on 200 Acres of Land, if one would cul-
 • tivate it to Advantage. Let us next see the
 • yearly Produce of it.

• THE Crops are sometimes very great :
 • As in the Year 1719, when Sugar fell in *Eng-*
 • land

' land from the best to the lowest Price it has
 ' sold at since the Peace of *Utrecht*, there was a
 ' better Crop than has been since in most of the
 ' *Leward Islands*; in all which it is thought pretty
 ' good Making, and beyond what is made *com-*
 ' *muniſus annis*, when ſuch a Plantation as this
 ' yields a Hogſhead of *Muscovado* Sugar of 1500
 ' Pounds Weight, for every Negroe, Worker
 ' or not Worker, you have upon it, or 225,000 lb.

' NOTE, The Number of Workers in a
 ' Plantation of 150 Slaves ſeldom exceeds 80 or
 ' 90, the reſt being either too Young or too
 ' Old, or hinder'd by Sickneſs, Lameneſs, At-
 ' tendance in the White Family, or by their run-
 ' ning away.

' THE Molasses (reckoning 100 Gallons
 ' from fix Hogſheads or Tierces of Sugar) is
 ' 2500 Gallons.

' THE Rum (when the Molasses, as well as
 ' the Skimmings of the Sugar, is converted to
 ' that uſe) may be, beſides the Plantation-Con-
 ' ſumption, about 4000 Gallons.

' NOTE, Many Plantations in *St Chriſto-*
 ' *pher's* make very little Rum, and ſome none
 ' at all; and then the Skimmings (except what
 ' is drank by the Horſes, &c. before it grows
 ' ſour) is all loſt.

' DURING the laſt War with *France*, the
 ' Sugar of the *Leward Islands* paſſ'd in Barter
 ' and Payments, at the Rate of 12s. 6d. *per*
 ' *Cent.* but might have been bought for 10s. or
 ' 10s. 6d. of the Country-Caſh; the Currency
 ' for theſe laſt fix or ſeven Years, has been 16s.
 ' *per Cent.* which is 1800 l.

' 2500 Gallons of Molasses at 9d. (the con-
 ' ſtant Price) *per Gallon* is 93 l. 15s. 0d.

' BUT we will ſuppoſe the Molasses to be
 ' made into Rum, as being the moſt profitable

‘ Way ; 4000 Gallons of Rum at 2 s. per Gallon is 400 l. which, with the Sugar, makes 2200 l. of the Island-Money.

‘ AND there is nothing else made in *St Christopher's*, except a trifle of *Indigo* and Cotton, by the poorest of the Inhabitants ; for the Cotton sent from thence for *England*, is brought from *Anguilla*, &c.

‘ AS to the yearly Expence of such a Plantation, there is, First, the Repairs of the Buildings ; and these being almost all of Timber in *St Christopher's*, must be shingled and boarded round every seventh or eighth Year.

‘ THE wear and tear of Coppers, Mill-work, Coolers, Cisterns, Casks for Rum, Hoes and Hand-Bills, Stills, and a hundred other Utensils, must be made good on Occasion.

‘ THE Loss in Slaves (not including those immediately from *Guinea*, of which about two Fifths die in the *Seasoning*) may well, one Year with another, be reckoned at One in Fifteen ; in dry Years when Provisions of the Country Growth are scarce, I have known it One in Seven in my Plantations, and the same or worse in sickly Seasons ; and when the Small-Pox, which is almost as much dreaded in the *Leward Islands* as the Pestilence is in any Part of *Europe*, happens to be imported, it is incredible what Havock it makes among the Blacks.

‘ TO this the Births are to be opposed. But, considering how hard the Negroes are generally kept to work, and that *Polygamy* (which, whatever it may do in their native Countries, is found, among other Mischiefs, to hinder Breeding here) is permitted to them ; and allowing for the Numbers of Infants that die, the little Work the Mother can do for three Months before and nine after the Birth, Mid-wifery,

‘ wifery, and some other Incidents, and the
 ‘ Maintenance of the Child for six or seven
 ‘ Years at a Peny *per Diem*, the Gain from
 ‘ thence cannot be great.

‘ THE Loss of Horses, Mules, and Cattle, in
 Dry-weather Years especially, is very consider-
 able.

‘ DRUGS and Doctorage is a weighty Ar-
 ‘ ticle every Year.

‘ CLOATHING for the Slaves, and Fish,
 ‘ Flower, Beef, and Herrings for their Food,
 ‘ is another.

‘ THERE is the Parish Tax for the sup-
 ‘ port of the Parson, Clerk, Sexton, and Poor,
 ‘ and to keep the Church in Repair.

‘ AND the public Tax for *paying the Agent’s*
 ‘ Salary in England, for *Building or Repairing*
 ‘ the Sessions-House and Prison, for *repairing*
 ‘ the Fortifications and Breast-Works, or making
 ‘ new ones as Occasion requires, for supporting the
 ‘ Honour and Dignity of the King’s Authority,
 ‘ the public meeting of the Sessions, and the fre-
 ‘ quent Attendance of the Council, and for de-
 ‘ fraying all other public Charges, cannot, since
 ‘ nothing of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent Duty is laid out
 ‘ on those Uses, but be sometimes heavy
 ‘ enough.

‘ THE Wages of a common White Over-
 ‘ seer on such a Plantation, with his Allowance
 ‘ for Provisions, &c. is seldom less than 100 l.
 ‘ of the Island-Money.

‘ AND when the Owner of a Plantation
 ‘ lives elsewhere, the Hire of a Manager, with
 ‘ his Perquisites, is much more considerable.

‘ THESE, and not a few more yearly
 ‘ Expences, must all be made good out of the
 ‘ Sugar, Rum, and Molasses, or the 2200 l.
 ‘ produced by the Plantation; and they are
 ‘ commonly,

commonly, and I think justly, computed (exclusive of the Loss in Slaves, and the Maintenance of the Master and his White Family) at half this Produce; however, *to humour some People*, we shall allow them here to be two Fifths only, or 880*l*.

THERE remains then to the Planter (who rarely ships off any Rum or Molasses on his own Account, but parts with both to the Traders here for Horses, Lumber, a little Cash, &c.) 1320*l*. or 165,000*lb* of Sugar, out of which supposing him, as being willing to make the most of it, to ship 98 Tierces to London on his proper Account and Risque, his Invoice will run thus;

	<i>lb</i> .
98 Casks of Sugar containing each	146,706
1497 <i>lb</i> . at an Average — — —	
98 Sugar Tierces at 16 <i>s</i> . or 100 <i>lb</i> .	9800
each — — — — —	
Permit-Money, &c. — — — —	54
The Duty of 4½ <i>per Cent</i> . paid in	6602
Specie into the King's Custom-	
house here — — — — —	
3 <i>s</i> . of the Island-Money <i>per</i> Cask	1838
(being a Duty imposed by the	
Council and Assembly of <i>St Christopher's</i> in the Year 1722, as an	
Addition to the Chief-Governor's	
Salary, and paid in Cash) 14 <i>l</i> .	
14 <i>s</i> . in Sugar at 16 <i>s</i> . <i>per Cent</i> . is,	
Commissions at 5 <i>per Cent</i> . Storage	
Horse-Hire, &c. — — — —	

165,000

AS to Wastage in the Passage, I have known much of the Sugar of the *Leward Islands* often lose

lose a sixth Part; but because our Planters of *St Christopher's* who ship Sugar on their own Account affirm, that theirs holds out better, we will here admit the Loss to be but one in ten, which is 14,670 lb. there remains 132,036 lb.

I pass over *Pilferage*, which the Insurer does not meddle with, and for which there is but short Redress otherwise: Vessels from *England* are said to be but seldom guilty: but the Freighters complain of it as too frequent in those, which, being built to the Northward to be sold at Home, touch in, merely for the Sake of a Freight and to sell a Lumber-Cargo, at the Sugar Islands, where we never see them more.

THEN (as the Hundred in the *Leward Islands* is but five Score, and in *England* five Score and twelve) allow for the Difference of Weight 14,148 lb. and, if there has been no Pilferage nor petty Damages at Sea, and the Waste not above one Pound in ten, there will turn out at the King's Beam in *London* near upon 1179 Hundred of nett Sugar.

THE Price of Sugar in *England* depends on Contingences needless to be named at present. That of *St Christopher's* hath for many Years past been either 20 to 24 s. or 24 to 28 s. per Cent. At the Medium of 24 s. this Quantity of 1179 Hundred will fetch 1414 l. 16 s. Sterling.

DURING the last War, when the *French* Settlements at *Petit Guaves*, *Cape François*, &c. were in their Infancy, and Sugar sold higher in *England* than now, the Freight from the *Leward Islands* was 10 to 18 s. per Hundred; of late Years it hath been from 3 to 5 s. At the Medium of 4 s. this Charge on 1179 Hundred is 235 l. 16 s.

THE

‘ THE Duty in *England* at 3 s. 6 d. per Hundred 206 l. 6 s. 6 d.

‘ THE small Expence of Bill-Money, Waiters, Lighterage, Primage, Weighing, Storage (which becomes great when the Sugar lies long unfold, or is long in being taken from the Ware-house by the Buyer), Commissions, Brokerage, &c. being from 12 to 20 d. per Hundred at 16 d. is 78 l. 12 s.

‘ RISQUE and Insurance of 900 l. (including Commissions and other Costs) at about three per Cent. 27 l. In all 547 l. 14 s. 6 d.

‘ WHICH being deduced, the clear Profits of this Plantation of 200 Acres, stocked as above, will amount to 867 l. 1 s. 6 d. Sterling; and when the Owner has maintained himself and his Family out of that Sum, and made good his Loss in Slaves, and perhaps some other Matters, the Balance, whatever it is, remains to the national Stock in *England*.

‘ THUS it is, or may be, when all things answer better than ordinary.

‘ FOR there are some Contingences to which the *Leward Islands* are especially subject, such as *Hurricanes*, *Accidental Fires*, and *Dry Weather*, any one of which will make a vast Diminution in this Produce.

‘ HERE was a most furious Tempest in *August* 1707, which, in the Judgement of some that were in both, exceeded that of *November* 1703 in *England*. And tho’ we have felt nothing like it since, yet there have been several Storms, sometimes two in one Year, and generally one every Year, which never failed to do much Damage, to the Loss of a Fourth or Third, and with many of half their Crops: To say nothing of the Sugar on board of Ships
‘ at

‘ at Anchor, which are often drove ashore in
 ‘ the Hurricane-Months, and lost.

‘ ACCIDENTAL Fire among Canes
 ‘ does great harm in many Places every Year.
 ‘ By this Mischance alone, a Fourth perhaps,
 ‘ or a Third of a Planter’s whole Year’s Labour
 ‘ and Expence is near consumed in a few Hours.
 ‘ And considering the revengeful Temper of the
 ‘ Slaves, and that not one in a Hundered of
 ‘ them is under any Ties of any thing (as far
 ‘ as I have perceived) that deserves the Name
 ‘ of Religion, and with what ease they may set
 ‘ Fire to the Canes without being discovered,
 ‘ ’tis really much we meet not with more of
 ‘ these Disasters.

‘ BUT the surest and severest of all is the
 ‘ dry Weather, which in every Island affects
 ‘ some Plantations every Year, and in many
 ‘ Years every Plantation throughout the *Leward*
 ‘ *Islands*; and the Drought is generally followed
 ‘ by an Army of Worms, Flies, and other In-
 ‘ sects, which eat up what little green things
 ‘ are left on the Earth; then comes a scarcity
 ‘ of *Indian* Provisions, and a proportionable
 ‘ Dearth of those from *England*, *Ireland*, and
 ‘ the North Continent; then a most dreadful
 ‘ Mortality among the Negroes and Live-Stock,
 ‘ Crops next to nothing, and Ships returning
 ‘ with dead Freight; the King’s Duty of 4½
 ‘ here, and 3 s. 6 d. per Cent. at home are mi-
 ‘ serably shorten’d, the Sugar-Factors in *England*
 ‘ bite their Nails for want of Business ———
 ‘ and the poor Planter is in want of all things
 ‘ but Debt, Anguish, and Distress.

‘ NOW when any of these happens, Hurri-
 ‘ cane, Fire, or a lasting Drought, such a
 ‘ Plantation as this of 200 Acres, stock’d as be-
 ‘ fore, far from clearing 867 l. Sterling will

H

‘ hardly

' hardly clear the Half, perhaps not a fourth of
 ' that Sum, as every one knows that is acquaint-
 ' ed with the *Leward Islands*. And as to the
 ' dry Weather in particular, I desire to appeal
 ' to those who have Estates in the *Leward Islands*,
 ' and live in *England* themselves, (of which there
 ' are several in and about *London*) whether their
 ' Plantations which in some Years remit them
 ' 60, 80, or 100 Hogsheads of Sugar, did re-
 ' mit 40 or 20 Hogsheads in the Years 1717,
 ' 1718, 1721, 1724, and 1726, which were dry
 ' weather Years in most of the *Leward Islands*;
 ' nay, I would ask some of them, whether they
 ' received one Ounce from their Plantations in
 ' some of these Years, and which is worse, whe-
 ' ther in 1718 and 1721, their Plantations did
 ' not bring most of them in Debt.

[I hope it will not offend an Honourable and
 Worthy Gentleman now at the *Board of Trade in*
London, who is lately, in Right of his Lady, be-
 come Owner of a Plantation in the Island of *Ne-*
vis (of 2 or 300 Acres of Land, about 100 Slaves,
 and other Stock proportionable); if I presume in
 this publick Manner, to desire him to look into
 the Plantation-Books of the former Owner for
 the last 20 or 30 Years, from which I am almost
 sure (because I have known Col. *Jory* make the
 like Complaints) he will find a Confirmation of
 what my Author advances in the preceeding Pa-
 ragraph.]

' AND it would not be found to derogate
 ' from this, (and if any thing else can be alleg'd,
 ' I should be glad to see it fairly propos'd) that
 ' in some or all of those Years, a great deal of
 ' Sugar was entered in the Custom-house at home,
 ' from one or two of our Islands; for it was Su-
 ' gar imported from *Martinico* and *Guadalope*,
 ' which upon paying the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. here was
 ' re-

re-exported for *England*; and I wish all the *French* Sugar was to be carried the same Way.

THE Possessors of the *French* Lands in *St Christopher's*, needed not then to fear (how- ever some thought fit to terrify him with it) that any Gentleman in *England* or elsewhere, who had 8 or 9000*l.* to venture in the World, would (supposing him but barely suspicious of Events) have laid it out in forming a Settlement amongst them, although he might have had the Land as the King of *France* disposes of his in *Hispaniola*, or the *Dutch* of theirs near *Surinam*, for nothing, or rather with a Premium; much less that the Planters on any other of our Sugar Islands (who could not but know the true State of Things) would have gone to *St Christopher's*, with their Negroes and Stock, to buy *French* Lands at the Price impos'd by the Commissioners.

BUT because the fine Figure that is sometimes made in *England* by Planters of the *Leeward Islands*, will doubtless be objected here, I shall (for the sake of those of our Countrymen at home, who have been long censur'd for knowing less of their own King's Dominions than of that of foreign Countries) endeavour to account for all Appearances of this Sort, by relating the Fact as it stands, which is thus: When Merchants who settle here, or Men of the Learned Professions, of the Law especially, have got a little beforehand (which few that understand and mind their Business are long in doing) let them but once get Footing on a Piece of Land, or on a Plantation ever so poorly settled, whether by Marriage, Purchase, or otherwise, and they seldom fail (as their other Business or Practice is daily

bringing them in Money) of soon becoming
 considerable Planters. There is no need of
 descending to Particulars, with respect to o-
 thers; every Man in *England* who can but
 guess at Matters will apprehend, without being
 told, how a Governor of the *Leward Islands*,
 a Lieutenant-Governor of such a Place as
St Christopher's, an Agent of the *African Com-*
pany (at least as that Employment stood for-
 merly) a Collector of the Customs or of the
 Casual Revenues, an upper Officer of the
 Regiment stationed among these Islands for
 20 Years together, a Treasurer, a Chief-Judge,
 a Secretary, or Provost-Marshal of an Island
 where Business is stirring, or even Handicrafts-
 men, such as Mill-Wrights, House-Carpenters,
 Masons, Black-Smiths, Coopers, Taylors (when
 not corrupted with our Rum, as most of them
 presently are) may both acquire Plantations,
 and improve them to a good Height in no
 great length of Time. And whoever knows
 the *Leward Islands*, or will advise with such as
 do, will find, that these are the Men of Wealth
 and Substance, and almost the only Persons
 that settle their Estates so thoroughly as to be
 able to return to *Europe*, and to live there in
 Affluence and Splendor on the Profits of them;
 whilst the mere Planters, who make the Bulk,
 are so far (some excepted) from being rich,
 that too many of them owe more than their
 Estates are worth. And (not to hide a mor-
 tifying Truth) when the Descendants of these
 first Industrious Purchasers happen to be left
 behind them here, most of them fall into the
 Ways of the Place, and manage as bad as
 the worst of their Neighbours.
 FOR besides the natural Defects of a
 Plantation in these Parts, and the Calamities
 it

' it is always subject to, the Planters (it must
 ' be confess'd) offend in many Things; of which
 ' I shall mention some, not to expose but to
 ' serve them, and to make the most Inattentive,
 ' if possible, know their Situation better than
 ' they do.

' AS no People on Earth are more hospitable
 ' to Strangers, kinder to their Friends and
 ' Neighbours, and more helpful to the Distres-
 ' sed; so I have seen some of them near undo
 ' themselves by exceeding the Bounds of Hos-
 ' pitality, and indulging that other Favourite-
 ' Folly, of over-costly Apparel. But these Ex-
 ' cesses are almost quite over.

' AGAIN; As there is nothing of Educa-
 ' tion for their Children here above Reading
 ' and Writing, this puts more of them than
 ' can go through with it upon sending them to
 ' *England*, where few Planters having any Re-
 ' lations or Friends to direct their Education,
 ' except their Factors *whose Talents lie another*
 ' *Way*, the bringing of them up is always ex-
 ' pensive, and does but sometimes answer the
 ' End, too many of them returning here at the
 ' Age of 16, 17, or 18, full of the Conceit of
 ' their Father's large Possessions, and the Herd
 ' of Slaves they are to be Lords over, and not
 ' being provided with any tolerable Stock of
 ' substantial Knowledge, seldom or never grow
 ' capable of serving their Country or them-
 ' selves to purpose: Tho' this must be said in
 ' Justice to them, that being for the most part
 ' of that kind of Genius *Quintilian* speaks of,
 ' (*lib. 1. c. 3.*) *quod non temerè unquam pervenit*
 ' *ad frugem*, when they fall into good Hands,
 ' and are kept long enough at it, few of the
 ' Youth of other Countries answer the Culture
 ' bestow'd on them, better than our *Creoles*;
 ' and

‘ and I could name some of them that serve at
 ‘ present with great Applause in several Posts
 ‘ and Offices of the Government here, and
 ‘ make as good a Figure in the Regiment, on
 ‘ the Bench, at the Bar, and in the Practice of
 ‘ Physick, as any among us that were born and
 ‘ bred in *England*.

‘ IT is also a Piece of bad Oeconomy and
 ‘ want of Fore-cast in many Planters, that they
 ‘ buy every thing at the dearest Hand, not on-
 ‘ ly neglecting to send to *England*, on their
 ‘ own Account and Risque, for such Things
 ‘ as they want from thence, but even neglect-
 ‘ ing to lay in Provisions, and other Necessa-
 ‘ ries for their Families and Plantations, when
 ‘ cheap and plenty here (as almost every sort
 ‘ of them is once a Year) and when they have
 ‘ Sugar to pay for them. The Bulk indeed
 ‘ are not able to do this; but must take up
 ‘ Goods of the Trader as they want them,
 ‘ to be paid (which long Custom has made
 ‘ a Rule) as their Crops come on. This the
 ‘ Trader knows how to improve, by laying a
 ‘ proper Price on his Wares, which if the Plan-
 ‘ ter fails to pay according to Agreement, or
 ‘ should be disabled from doing it (as is very
 ‘ common) by the shortness of the Crop, he
 ‘ then lies at the Creditor’s Mercy, and if he
 ‘ does not comply punctually as soon as pos-
 ‘ sible, a Suit of Law naturally follows, which
 ‘ cannot but be more expensive in this Part of
 ‘ the World than in *Europe*. So that what thro’
 ‘ his Situation and Infelicity, what thro’ his
 ‘ Train of ill Conduct, the Planter is kept al-
 ‘ ways in Debt and Dependance, and either
 ‘ pays with a Witness for his Misfortunes or In-
 ‘ discretion, or leaves it an Incumbrance on his
 ‘ Heirs, as they do again on theirs with Addi-
 ‘ tions,

tions, 'till at length the Plantation answers all,
 as far as it will go. . . .
 OTHERS (and none so much as in *St*
Christopher's) run into another Extream, and
 to be thought wealthier than they are, will
 ship perhaps forty, fifty, or more Tierces of
 Sugar to their Factors in *London*, and at the
 same time write for twice the Amount in
 Goods, which the Factor readily takes up from
 his Tradesmen, and sends them out by the
 first Ship. Next Year the Planter ships about
 the same Quantity, with a like Order for
 Goods, and it may be draws Bills of Ex-
 change on his Bill of Lading; and so on,
 'till the Factor finds it time to stop, and de-
 mands more Sugar, and if that fails directs
 his Attorneys here to do the needful. Mean
 while the Planter passes (and refers you to the
 Custom-house Books for it) for a consider-
 able Shipper, and by consequence a *thriving*
 Man, when in truth it is none of his own
 (any farther than the Risque) but his Factor's
 Sugar at Home that he is now shipping.
 Whereas would the Planters never send for
 more Goods than the nett Proceeds of their
 Consignments, and avoid falling into the Fa-
 ctor's Debt (except in Cases of absolute ne-
 cessity, when it ought to be speedily discharg-
 ed before the Interest and Obligation run too
 high) the Factors would not only court their
 Favour, but endeavour effectually to deserve
 it, and such of them as employ Ships in the
 Sugar-Trade would be glad to send out the
 gross and bulky Goods Freight-free, as they
 do to many in other Islands, but to none that
 I can hear of in *St Christopher's*, and above
 all they could afford to buy the Goods from
 the Tradesmen with *Ready Money*, which
 ought

ought to make them come a great deal cheaper than can be expected the other way.

AND, to name no more, nothing is more common with the more unthinking sort, than to set I know not what Value on their *growing* Canes, and because a great Quantity of Sugar has been formerly made from this or that Piece of their Ground in a seasonable Year, or when the Soil was richer, fondly to conclude that the same must be made from it still, especially if the Cane looks fair and promising at first. And well were it for them did they stop here; but the Mischief is, they *buy* and *live* as if they were sure of making the like Quantity; and then when Pay-Day comes, and the Creditor grows urgent, *Why truly*, says the Planter to him, ——— I am ashamed to tell what he says.

BUT to how little purpose soever these Planters labour for themselves, others are Gainers by them: The Merchants are notable Gainers, especially the *Transient* Traders, that is, such as stay only two or three Months at an Island in Crop-time, 'till they have sold their Cargoes, and gathered in the Produce, and then return home to fit themselves out for the like Adventure the following Year. It is surprising sometimes to see what Care the Planters take to keep up their Credit with these Traders, how they will pinch and straiten themselves, and run the Risque of all their other Creditors can do, rather than let these go without any considerable part of their Demands; whereas the *settled* Trader, who supplies their Occasions all the Year round, and who is obliged to Watch and Ward, and to pay to all, both Publick and Parish Levies as other Inhabitants do, shall
be

' be left to the last, 'till they have done with
 ' the *Going Men* (as these Planters call the
 ' *Transient* Traders) and then if he will not
 ' take up with the Refuse of the Crop, he must
 ' be content to stay 'till next Year, when the
 ' Ships returning early with such Provisions and
 ' dry Goods as the Planters are in immediate
 ' need of, if the *Transient* Trader is not again
 ' preferred in point of Payment, he shews him-
 ' self shy of trusting them, and if once disap-
 ' pointed in any thing of Moment, will have
 ' no more to do with them. And as the settled
 ' Merchant is thus unconscionably dealt with,
 ' and often thereby put to it to maintain his
 ' own Credit in *England*, so it is sure in the end
 ' to turn to the Prejudice of the Planter, and
 ' is the true Reason that so many of their Estates
 ' fall into the Hands of such Traders, who are
 ' at last forced (as it were) to take the Benefit
 ' of the Law, which no standing Merchant of
 ' Note is ever known to do 'till things are
 ' growing desperate; for it is his Interest (as
 ' it was the Royal *African* Company's) to bear
 ' as long as possible with the Planter, and to
 ' help him to retrieve himself by new Credits;
 ' but the *Transient* Trader troubles his Head
 ' with no such Consequences, let him once get in
 ' his out-standing Debts, and if he but suspects
 ' your future Compliance, you will never see
 ' him more.

' THE Merchants in *England*, or the Fa-
 ' ctors to whom the Sugars are consigned, what
 ' with their Commissions on the Sales, and what
 ' with the Profits made on the Returns, are
 ' most considerable Gainers, without running
 ' any Risque at all; for if they over-ship
 ' Goods, or advance Money to a Planter, as
 ' they are often forward enough to do to secure

the Continuance of his Consignments, they take due Care to make him pay a full Interest for it.

THE Crown, as has been said already, receives a Duty of (I think) 3 s. 6 d. on every Hundred of their Sugar imported into Great Britain. And here there is the Duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. paid in Specie out of all dead Commodities of the Growth or Produce, and an additional Duty of 1 s. 6 d. per the 112 lb. on all Sugar, as well as certain Duties on other enumerated Commodities which by Law may be exported from hence to supply the Wants of our Plantations of North America; which is far from being inconsiderable, and would soon become greater, were it not for the Trade between our northern Colonies and the Colonies of Martinico, Guadalope, St Thomas, and St John's (now both possessed by the Danes, but rightfully belonging to England) St Eustace, Curasoa, Surinam, Esacape, and the other French and Dutch Sugar Settlements in the West-Indies, which are all supplied from thence with Boards, Shingle, Joist, Plank, Hogthead-Staves, Hoops, Horses, Bread, Flower, Gammons, Salt-Fish, and many other the like, which they cannot possibly subsist without, or get elsewhere than from our Colonies on the Continent; for all which they barter away their own Produce, viz. Sugar, Molasses, Rum, Indigo, Cocoa-Nuts, &c. which are carried thither, and from thence in great Quantities to Europe, without paying either the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. or the Duties on Goods enumerated, whereby the like Commodities from the English Islands are lessened in Value, the King loses all those Imposts, and the same ill Consequences come from this Traffic that
come

‘ come from the other between *Ireland* and
 ‘ *Martinico* by the Way of *Santa Lucia*, where
 ‘ the Ships from *Ireland* sell their Provisions,
 ‘ &c. to the *French*, and the *French* pay for
 ‘ them in *Sugars*, *Cocoa*, *Indigo*, &c. which there
 ‘ is Reason to believe are never unloaded in
 ‘ *Great Britain*, or not as *French* Produce.

‘ I say nothing of the Profits our Mother-
 ‘ Nation reaps by the Planters taking off her
 ‘ Manufactures, Provisions, and the Slaves she
 ‘ buys for us in *Africa*, employing her Hands,
 ‘ Shipping, and the like, as being all well un-
 ‘ derstood; but since I am speaking of some
 ‘ of her Gains from the *Leward Islands*, I will
 ‘ venture to mention one Hardship they are like
 ‘ to fall under, which is little known, I dare
 ‘ say, and less minded in *England*.

[THE Reader will remember that this was
 written in the Year 1727.]

‘ IN the thirty second Article of the present
 ‘ Governor’s Instructions (dated at *Kensington*,
 ‘ September 30. 1721.) it is said, That *whereas*
 ‘ it has been represented that 1200l. Sterling per
 ‘ Annum is not at present a sufficient support for
 ‘ the Governor, and the Dignity of the Govern-
 ‘ ment of the *Leward Islands*, their respective As-
 ‘ semblies are permitted and allowed settle to upon
 ‘ him by any Act, or Acts, such Sum or Sums, in
 ‘ addition to his Salary, as they shall think proper;
 ‘ and the Governor is allowed to give his Assent
 ‘ to any Act or Acts of Assembly for that pur-
 ‘ pose; provided such Sum or Sums be settled
 ‘ on Him, and his Successors in the Government,
 ‘ or at least on Himself during the whole Time of
 ‘ his Government, and that the same be done by
 ‘ the first Assembly in each Island after his Arrival
 ‘ among them. And in the thirty third Article
 ‘ the Governor is required to communicate this De-
 ‘ claration

Declaration of his Majesty's Royal Will and Plea-
 sure, to the several Assemblies of these Islands at
 their first Meeting after his Arrival, and to have
 the same entered in the Registers of the Councils
 and Assemblies, that all Persons whom it may
 concern may govern themselves accordingly. Now
 tho' this is nothing of a Command, yet since
 Decency alone requires the greatest Deference
 to be paid to such high Permission, People
 in the Circumstances of St Christopher's and
 some other of these Islands (supposing them
 to have any Sense of Posterity) cannot but
 be apprehensive of the Consequences that may
 in Time follow the Continuance of it. And
 the rather, because one Condition of this Ad-
 dition to the Governor's Salary is, that it be
 settled on Him and his Successors in the Govern-
 ment, so that (if once confirmed in England)
 it will remain a Charge upon them as long
 as the Colony stands, whether it be Peace or
 War, whether the Islands flourish or not; or,
 if that cannot be done, that at least it be set-
 tled on Himself during the whole Time of his
 Government, which ——— And notwithstand-
 ing the last Proviso, that it be done by the first
 Assembly in each Island after the Governor's Ar-
 rival, possibly as that might have been sup-
 posed to be freer from Impression than a fu-
 ture one, yet a fitter Season could not have
 been thought of for realizing Matters; for
 then both Parties (that is, the Party that
 was, and the Party that was not, in favour
 with his Predecessor) are alike ambitious of
 recommending themselves to the new Gover-
 nor. Some Places of Profit in each Island,
 such as the Treasury, the Chief-Judgeship,
 &c. are at the Governor's Disposal; all De-
 puties, such as Secretary, Provost-Marshal, &c.
 must

must be approved by him ; and tho' the Posts
 of Captain, Colonel, *Aid de Camp*, Brigadier,
 &c. are expensive to those that hold them,
 and of no great Account, yet some, rather
 than go without them, will yield (as it is said)
 to things that are not for the Good of those
 they represent ; of which the Free-holders of
Nevis are so suspicious, that it is become almost
 a standing Rule there, *Never to chuse a Militia-*
Officer into their Assembly ; nay, they have gone
 of late into a stranger Extreme, and give nothing
 to any Governor except suitable Entertainment
 while he resides among them. The People of
St Christopher's have long been pretty liberal,
 because their Pretensions to the *French* Grounds
 made it their Interest to gain the Governor's
 Friendship. The other Islands are as much
 commended for their Exemplariness at first,
 as they are censur'd for soon repenting of it.
 And I am convinc'd it might be prov'd, that
 all the Quarrels since General *Codrington's*
 Time, between the Governors and any of
 these Islands (and some of them have been fo-
 mented to a height I shall not name, as wish-
 ing such Doings could be eternally forgotten)
 were originally, if not wholly, owing to the
 Demands of this kind made by the Governors,
 and to the Stiffness of the People in denying
 them, or their Unsteadiness in departing,
 upon After-Incidents, from their first inconsi-
 derate Engagements. And as to the Gover-
 nors themselves, besides their having to do
 with Four Councils, and as many Assemblies
 in different Islands, some of them at the Di-
 stance of twenty Leagues, and each indepen-
 dent on the rest, except when they meet in a
 General Council and Assembly, which is not
 in many Years ; besides this, I say, one that
 has

has not seen it would hardly believe what a
 Check the Fear of being disappointed in this
 Addition to their Salary lays upon them, and
 what a deal of Gratitude is ever after expected
 for contributing to remove it; how that Fear
 subjects them, while it lasts, to the Caprices of
 some very worthless Persons, hampers them in
 the most indifferent Matters, and restrains them
 both then and afterwards (as is conjectur'd by
 some, for I will not affirm it for certain) from
 pressing others that ought to be press'd on the
 People, in relation both to their Civil and o-
 ther Concerns, or from doing it to the Pur-
 pose. To which I may add, the Hazards
 these Gentlemen run, if on a final Denial they
 should seek to make Reprisals; which yet
 they seem to be under a sort of Necessity of
 doing; for of the few that have return'd from
 hence to their Native Country for the last fifty
 or sixty Years, not one (I think) has been
 taken farther notice of, or rewarded there. It
 cannot sure but be bad both for those that go-
 vern, and those that are govern'd, when their
 Interests become inconsistent. The $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent.
 out of which the Governor's Salary is paid in
 England, is indeed very short in some dry Wea-
 ther Years; but it is a thousand Pities a Go-
 vernment of the Dignity, Difficulty, and Im-
 portance this is, should not be provided with
 a better Salary, which, with the stated and cu-
 stomary Fees and Perquisites, might make it
 worth a Gentleman's Acceptance, without obli-
 ging him to Methods that always prove (as he
 cannot but see) an unsufferable Burthen to
 the People, and by consequence grating to any
 Man of Honour. But enough, perhaps too
 much, of this.

AND

AND now, supposing what has been said
 of the Planters, and their Plantations in the
Leward Islands, to be true (and if I have err'd
 in any thing of Moment, the Press is open)
 may we not presume to conclude, that the
 Commissioners have mistaken the Value of the
French Lands in *St Christopher's*? And if to this
 it is added, that the *English* Part of that Island
 was retaken from the *French* (who had made
 themselves Masters of the whole before the
 War was declar'd at the Revolution) and re-
 settled in the Year 1690, and afterwards pil-
 lag'd and burnt in the last War in 1708, and
 the *French* Part of it begun to be new-settled
 out of Woods no longer ago than about the
 Year 1714, and that chiefly on the Stock and
 Substance of others, may we not also too just-
 ly conclude, that the present Inhabitants are
 in no Capacity to pay for the Purchase of these
 Lands?

[HERE I thought to have had done with
 the *Leward Islands*, but my Friend the Author
 desires me, for the sake of his belov'd *St Cbri-
 stopher's*, to take in the following Particulars.]

2. ANOTHER thing that has doubtless
 rais'd the Opinion at Home of the Value of
 these Lands is the Security the Possessors
 are said to have now of enjoying their Purchases,
 because Care has been taken to fortify *St Cbri-
 stopher's* against all Impressions an Enemy can
 pretend to make upon it. Duration and Security
 cannot but add greatly to the Worth of any
 thing, and above all to an Estate in that Island,
 where the *French* (as all the World knows)
 made such Havock in 1705. That their Secu-
 rity is the same still, however aggrandiz'd in
England, is notorious here, and since their
 back

' back Friends have render'd it necessary, I will
 ' try to make a Stranger judge what it is.
 ' WE value neither *Dutch* nor *Spaniard*; the
 ' Power that can most affect *St Christopher's*, or
 ' the *Leward Islands*, is the *French*; who having
 ' long been Owners of the Half of *St Christopher's*,
 ' and once Masters of the Whole, make no
 ' Scruple to confess, that their King's Cession
 ' hath not cur'd their longing after it; and there
 ' is no doubt but the Inhabitants of *Martinico* (a
 ' powerful, rich and populous Island), some of
 ' whom were born in *St Christopher's*, and had
 ' good Estates there, will procure the Assistance
 ' of their Mother Nation, if needful, to attempt
 ' it in Case of a Rupture, if only for Revenge.
 ' But *St Christopher's*, notwithstanding the Forts
 ' and Batteries on the *Leward-Side* (for there is
 ' not one to *Windward* from *Smith's Fort* near
 ' *Basterre-Road* to *Point-Sable*, which is above
 ' three Fourths of the whole Shore) lies so open,
 ' that an Enemy may find fifty Places to land
 ' on it without Danger from the Inhabitants;
 ' as every one knows that has coasted the Island.
 ' And if an Enemy once gets on Shore, to the
 ' Number of 8, 10, or 1200 Men, with their
 ' Arms, it will not be said that the Inhabitants
 ' can make an equal Number, in one Body to
 ' oppose them. The Signals of an Enemy's Ap-
 ' proach are no sooner given, but while some
 ' repair to their respective Posts, the major Part
 ' (maugre all our *Militia-Laws*) run some one
 ' Way, some another, as private Interest or In-
 ' clination prompts them, till at length all meet,
 ' if not intercepted, at the general Rendezvous
 ' on *Brimstone-Hill*; and till then it is rare to
 ' find 150 or 200 together to face an Enemy.
 ' And the Bulk of them being got safe to the
 ' Hill, if their Enemy can but keep them
 ' there,

' there, and avoid coming to an Engagement,
 ' his Business is more than half done; he has on-
 ' ly to send out Parties to catch or kill the Live-
 ' Stock, to scour out the Negroes, and to pick
 ' up what things are portable, such as Coppers,
 ' Mill-Work, Stills, Merchandize, and Furni-
 ' ture of worth, and to clap them on board his
 ' Ships in the Road as fast as brought in, and
 ' then to set Fire (a Pastime People of all Na-
 ' tions in these Parts take great delight in) to
 ' the Canes and Buildings, Churches and reli-
 ' gious Houses not excepted. And now should
 ' his Stores on board, with what he can gather
 ' ashore, be sufficient to hold out for ———
 ' Weeks, it is obvious that the Inhabitants,
 ' Men, Women and Children (being in a man-
 ' ner confin'd to their Fortifications, or hardly
 ' daring to venture out of the reach of their
 ' own Guns, and having nothing to subsist on
 ' but the Fund of Provisions laid in there be-
 ' forehand, and what they can seize on in their
 ' Night-Excursions, which cannot be much)
 ' must soon be reduc'd to Straits; and as any
 ' kind of short Allowance will first affect the
 ' Slaves, we may be sure they will readily go
 ' where there is better Entertainment: And we
 ' may be sure too, that the Desire of Change
 ' governs among them as well as others, and
 ' perhaps with better Cause; for tho' by the
 ' Conditions of Sale (of which themselves are
 ' not ignorant) their Slavery, and their Off-
 ' springs, is not to determine but with Death,
 ' or the Pleasure of the Purchaser, yet I doubt
 ' not but an honest Casuist would find it many
 ' times, if not always, faulty in the Foundation;
 ' but whatever may be in that, so vehement in
 ' Fact is their Propensity to Change, that the
 ' most sensible amongst them, and such as fared

' best, and knew they had nothing to hope for
 ' but a little Respite till their new Masters could
 ' set them to Work, were the very first that
 ' went in (with all they could entice) to the
 ' *French* at the last Invasions of *St Christopher's*,
 ' *Nevis*, and *Montserat*. And Negroe-Slaves
 ' will do the same again, where you cannot
 ' prevent it by any sure or superior Force, as is
 ' the Case in *St Christopher's*; you cannot impris-
 ' son or hem in 10 or 12,000 Negroes in such a
 ' Spot; they must have Liberty to walk the
 ' Hill, and range the Mountains in quest of
 ' Food; and as sure as they are Slaves, and
 ' have that Liberty, so sure you may be they
 ' will desert to your Enemy. And the Enemy
 ' having got the Bulk of them, *which is the thing*
 ' *he chiefly came for*; he never concerns himself
 ' with the Hill, but makes the best of his Way
 ' home, leaving the Inhabitants to come down
 ' from their Inland Fortification, and to go to
 ' the Place where their Habitations stood; where
 ' all being destroy'd but their Land, they may
 ' re-furnish it with Stock and Buildings, and live
 ' securely till the Enemy shall think it worth
 ' while to visit them again.

' IT may not be amiss to take notice here,
 ' that such a Disaster is more fatal to Sugar-
 ' Planters, than the like could be to others any
 ' where; for their Slaves and Stock being once
 ' gone, and no means appearing to re-settle
 ' their Land, and few of them being brought
 ' up to other Business, liberal or mechanick,
 ' they must go I know not where, and do I know
 ' not what. I need not say how bad it must be
 ' with the Gentlemen in *England* who have E-
 ' states in the Colonies, and may be living there
 ' in Confidence of their Plantation-Produce at
 ' the rate of so many hundreds a Year, if they
 ' cannot

cannot raise Money to re-stock their Lands,
 The Mother-Nation too must suffer, unless
 she thinks fit to repair the Distresses she knew
 not how to prevent, as was in some Measure
 found necessary soon after *St Christopher's* and
Nevis were ravag'd by the *French* in 1705, both
 which would otherwise have been near quite
 deserted.

NOT but that an Inland Fortification is of
 vast Advantage to such an Island as *St Chri-*
stopher's. Here the Publick Records, the
 Merchants Books, the Plate and Jewels, and
 other things of Value are preserv'd; here is a
 safe Retreat for the Women and Children,
 and such of the Slaves as are willing to make
 use of it; here the Men too, if hard put to
 it, may save themselves from *all the Power of*
France can do, while their Provisions last; and
 above all, the Island is hereby secured to the
 Crown. And all this that Fortification did
 in the Year 1705, and more it cannot do now
 with all the new Buildings that have of late
 been heap'd upon it at no small Expence.
 One Article of which was 4000*l.* of the Island-
 Money, and the Work of 100 Slaves every
 Day for above three Years together, at 1*s.*
 Sterling, or 1*s.* 6*d.* of our Money *per diem*,
 about 7000*l.* more of the later, besides 1000*l.*
 by way of Present to the Engineer for his
 Cunning, 500*l.* for some Pretensions he had
 to part of the Hill where the Fort stands, and
 300*l.* *per Annum* settled on him by an Act of
 the Island in 1724, to continue during the
 whole Time of his Residence there. But the
 Colony is not more secure, nor the Lands
 more valuable than before, but rather, in my
 Opinion, somewhat worse; for who knows
 but the Noise this Security makes in *England*,

' may make them secure of it there too? Some-
 ' thing like this befel *Nevis*, the next Island in
 ' 1705, when it was no Secret in *England*, that
 ' a Fleet was fitting out in *France* to invade it,
 ' their Lieutenant-Governor, Mr *Johnson*, a
 ' Captain or Major in *Whetham's* Regiment,
 ' having sent Advice home, that he had so
 ' fortify'd that Island all along the Bays, that
 ' it was impracticable for an Enemy to land up-
 ' on it, they made the less Dispatch (as it is
 ' said) in ordering the Squadron to the *West-*
 ' *Indies* under Capt. *Ker*, which had it arriv'd
 ' some Months sooner, might have done much
 ' to defeat the *French* Projects on *St Christopher's*
 ' and *Nevis*. The Thing was this: *Johnson*,
 ' tho' he could neither Write nor Read, did
 ' however prevail on the Inhabitants of *Nevis*
 ' to build at the Expence of several thousands
 ' of their Money, I know not how many regu-
 ' lar and durable Ramparts, Bastions, &c. along
 ' their *Leward* Shore; whence that People really
 ' thought their Island impregnable, never sus-
 ' pecting till Mons. *d' Ibberville's* Appearance,
 ' that their Hands (tho' they had two Compa-
 ' nies of *Whetham's* Regiment) were not suffi-
 ' cient to Man their Fortifications. But the
 ' *French* regarded none of their Fortifications,
 ' but only fell down before them with their
 ' great Ships by way of Amusement, and left
 ' the small Craft behind to land their Men on
 ' the other Side, which was done without Op-
 ' position on *Good-Friday*, and on *Easter* Morn-
 ' ing the Island was surrendered to them with
 ' little Loss on either Part. 'Tis true that
 ' Force (which consisted of 12 Men of War
 ' from 40 to 70 Guns, 14 from 10 to 24,
 ' and 40 smaller Vessels or Sloops, with be-
 ' tween 3 and 4000 Land Forces and 500
 ' Marines)

‘ Marines) was enough to have taken any or
 ‘ all the *English Leward Caribbee Islands*; and
 ‘ the People of *Antego* were so sensible of it
 ‘ (for we had Intelligence of them a Month
 ‘ before) that they made a handsome Offer to
 ‘ Major *Johnson*, who had the Reputation of a
 ‘ bold Solder, and who by being Lieutenant-Governor of *Nevis* was, upon the Death of the
 ‘ General-Governor, just become Commander
 ‘ in Chief of all our Islands from the Leward
 ‘ of *Guadalope* to the Wind-ward of *St John de*
 ‘ *Porto-rico*, if he would come up, and under-
 ‘ take their Defence. And, to say Truth,
 ‘ these Islands are scarce worth maintaining in
 ‘ Time of War; could we but find Means to
 ‘ get *Porto-rico* from the *Spaniards* in a fair
 ‘ and friendly Way (for the Cost of Blood and
 ‘ Treasure, were we to do it in open War, would
 ‘ be too great) it would be of more Importance
 ‘ to our Crown than twice the Number of them,
 ‘ and richly worth our while to leave them all
 ‘ to settle it. Possibly the *French* might make
 ‘ a bad use of them; tho’ we need not fear them
 ‘ so much as the *Dutch*; for the *French* avoid
 ‘ what they can, the having far distant Settle-
 ‘ ments, and quitted *Santa Cruz*, and some o-
 ‘ ther Places, and yielded up their Share of
 ‘ *St Christopher’s*, to draw their People the
 ‘ closer, and to promote and secure their Sugar
 ‘ Settlements of *Martinico* and *Hispaniola*, by
 ‘ which Method, and the Encouragements given
 ‘ by their last King, and the late Regent, the
 ‘ latter is immensely improved; but the *Dutch*
 ‘ (whose Power on the *Guinea Coast* is like to
 ‘ know no Bounds but what their own Con-
 ‘ veniency shall set to it) having no Sugar Co-
 ‘ lonies of Value in these Parts except *Surinam*,
 ‘ are now lying *perdue*, and would certainly
 ‘ take

take possession of them, and prove very soon
 such Neighbours both to the *French* and us,
 that it is as much the Business of *France* to
 prevent it as ours; and could that be done,
 it would be for our Benefit to get rid of
 them. For they are all but thinly peopled,
 and never can (by Reason of the Compass
 of each, their Distance one from another,
 and some other Impediments as well natural
 as adventitious) be so peopled as is neces-
 sary to their Defence. Nor is it possible al-
 ways to gain such timely Notice at Home
 of an Enemy's Designs here, as to have a suf-
 ficient Force at hand (admitting it would quit
 cost) to protect them. And it may so hap-
 pen that our naval Force, after the best Care
 and Precaution taken at Home, shall prove of
 no Service: As in the Year 1712, when there
 was not fewer than ten of our Men of War
 on this and the *Barbadoes* Station (*viz.* 4
 Fourth, as many Fifth, and 2 Sixth Rates)
 1 *French* Man of War of 70 Guns, and a-
 nother of 44, with 2 or 3 Merchant Men
 they had picked up at *Martinico*, and about
 16 small Craft, invaded the Island of *Montserat*,
 continued sacking it above a Week, and
 then went off unquestioned to *Guadalope*, un-
 der the Nose, as it were, of our Naval Force;
 when all of them, especially their great Ships,
 were so cumbered with Mill-Work, Stills,
 Coppers, Household-Furniture, Merchandise,
 Negroes, Horses, Mules, and other Plunder,
 that less than one half of ours might have taken
 or destroyed every one of them. And tho'
 we were seldom without two or three Ships
 to cruize among our (*Leward*) Islands, and to
 protect the Commerce during the last War,
 yet the *French* Privateers not only infested
 us

us ashore, but would sometimes take almost all both our Out-ward and Home-ward bound, except the *Bristol* Gallies; and a single Privateer would now and then land in the Night, and plunder a Plantation or two before the Neighbourhood could take the Alarm, especially at *St Christopher's*. — 'Tis certain no Enemy can ever prove so regardless of his Errand, as to leave that (if once on Shore) to bombard *Brimstone-Hill*, with which he has nothing to do.

BUT admit this Security were never so firm and lasting, and the Lands twenty times better than before on that Account, what then? To whom is *St Christopher's* indebted for rendering her inland Fortification impregnable? Were the new Works built at the Crown or Nation's Expence? Was any part of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. (which was granted to King *Charles II.* and his Successors, among other things, as is set forth in the *Barbadoes-Act*, for the *Reparation of the Forts*) laid out on these additional Buildings? Have not the Inhabitants been at the whole Charge, a few great Guns, and a trifle of Ammunition excepted? And must the Price of the Lands (which is to be applied to the use of the Public pursuant to an Address of the House of Commons) be enhanced to them, because of a Security that is intirely of their own making? Suppose my Neighbour lends me, for Example, his Coach for some time, and that I while using it do so repair the Ways in which I commonly travel, that the Coach will certainly last longer than it could had not the Ways been so repaired: Suppose too, that before he was able to lend me the Coach, or could so much as call the Coach his own, I had voluntarily ventured my Life in recovering it from an Enemy who kept it from him

him, and defended it for some time after with
 my Life and Fortune against the Arms of the
 the same Enemy; and that in consequence of
 some Hopes given me of the Continuance of
 my Neighbour's Kindness, as well as of some
 considerable annual Profits he gains by me, I
 have hired a Coachman for Life who is fit for
 no other Business in the World, and bought
 half a Dozen good Horses, a new Harness,
 Wheels, and other Furniture, which will in
 a manner be all lost to me unless I can hold
 the Coach too: Suppose after this my Neigh-
 bour's Occasions dispose him to sell the Coach,
 and my Necessities compel me to buy it, and
 that I cannot provide myself with such a
 Coach, or with any Coach at all, any where
 else. Were my Neighbour to take Advan-
 tage of my unhappy Situation, and because
 the Coach must last longer now that I had
 repaired the Ways, raise the Price above what
 it would have sold for in the same Country
 had the Ways remained as before, what
 would you call this? I am aware the Com-
 parison might be carried on; but I shall on-
 ly say, if the Person who dealt so by me were
 my Parent, from whom I might expect all
 the Favour and Encouragement that Honour,
 Affection, and mutual Interest can inspire, I
 believe one could hardly help thinking (and
 the rather if I lived far out of his Sight, and
 could not easily come to speak with him) that
 some ill Offices had been done me, or the
 Case wrong represented to him by such as
 cared for neither, but had Ends to serve upon
 us both.

I have said the more of this inland Secu-
 rity, because I hear it is much urged in *Eng-
 land* to justify the arbitrary Price the Com-
 missioners

‘ missioners have set upon the *French* Lands;
 ‘ whereas it is nothing but mere Deceit, calcu-
 ‘ lated to impose on such as want Opportunities
 ‘ of knowing the Truth: *St Christopher’s* is, in
 ‘ fact, neither better nor worse, in point of Se-
 ‘ curity, than it was above twenty Years ago.

‘ 3. THE Reason assigned for contriving
 ‘ and carrying on the Sale with such Secrecy
 ‘ and Dispatch, as to put it out of the power
 ‘ of the Possessors, and of other Claimers, to
 ‘ put in their several Claims, is not so good
 ‘ as such a manner of Proceeding seems to re-
 ‘ quire. The greatest Men alive ought not to
 ‘ preclude a thing of this Nature when there
 ‘ is a good Cause for it; and that is not to be
 ‘ be known unless the Persons whom it affects
 ‘ have Opportunities allowed them to present
 ‘ their Reasons. Nor is it easy conceive how
 ‘ it escaped Observation, when the Crown was
 ‘ going to dispose of the conquered Part of *St*
 ‘ *Christopher’s*, that some (at least) of the Settlers
 ‘ in these Parts might have Claims to put in,
 ‘ as indeed there are not a few who cannot but be
 ‘ thought, were their Reasons to be weighed,
 ‘ to deserve Favour at such a Time.

‘ AS for Example; Is it not fit that such as
 ‘ ventured their Lives in retaking that whole
 ‘ Island from the *French* in July 1690 (and there
 ‘ went on that Expedition 400 Volunteers from
 ‘ *Antego*, 300 from *Montserat*, and 600 from
 ‘ *Nevis*, besides the Troops from *England* and
 ‘ and *Barbadoes*) or their Children, or other
 ‘ Heirs, and especially that the Children or o-
 ‘ ther Heirs, of such as lost their Lives in re-
 ‘ taking it, should be consider’d?

‘ IS it not unreasonable that such as ventur’d
 ‘ their Lives in conquering the *French* Part of
 ‘ it in 1702, should be regarded? for tho’ the

‘ thing was effected without Blood-shed by the
 ‘ Conduct and superior Skill of General *Codrington*
 ‘ (who gain’d as much then in way of Treaty
 ‘ over the *French*, as the *French* are said to gain
 ‘ elsewhere over others in their Treaties); yet the
 ‘ People of *St Christopher’s* with several Compa-
 ‘ nies of Volunteers from *Nevis*, were all in the
 ‘ Field in Arms, ready to have cut the *French*
 ‘ to Pieces. Must all these be debarr’d from
 ‘ offering their Claims, for fear of disturbing
 ‘ great Men? Will this encourage them again
 ‘ to leave the Business of their Plantations, and
 ‘ go a Volunteering at their own Expence for
 ‘ the Benefit of the Publick, without any other
 ‘ Prospect to themselves but the Risque of losing
 ‘ their Lives?

‘ AND, to pass over others, were not many
 ‘ of the present Inhabitants of *St Christopher’s*
 ‘ harass’d all the last War with *France* by con-
 ‘ stant Watching, Patrols, or riding the Rounds,
 ‘ when (the Place being thinner of People than
 ‘ at present) that hard and hazardous Duty re-
 ‘ turn’d on every Man that was fit for Arms
 ‘ every fifth or sixth Night, for ten long Years
 ‘ together? And ought not such to be confi-
 ‘ der’d?

‘ DID the Gentlemen that solicited the Com-
 ‘ mission never hear that these things were so?

[IF it be said, as I believe it will, that the
 Inhabitants made frequent and pressing Sollici-
 tations at home to be permitted to purchase the
French Lands for Money; let them who say so
 look back on their Proofs, and it will appear
 that the true Solicitors were manifestly such as
 hop’d, by their Informations to the Government,
 to have been employ’d in the Sale, or other Dis-
 position of them, and to have made a Penny, or
 to have got the best Plantations to themselves.

Take

Take these designing Men from among the Inhabitants, and it will not be found that they press'd any such thing ; tho' it must be confess'd, if they had done it in a due Manner, and fairly represented the Hardships the Island lay under for want of a more orderly Disposition of the conquer'd Lands, they would have done well. The Possessors had reason to desire to know how long they might hope to hold the Lands they possessed, in order to manage Matters to their own and the Publick's best Advantage ; Contests did oft arise among themselves concerning their Bounds, Priority of Grants, or Patents, and the like, which were not to be settled without a Trial at Common Law, or before the Governor in his Court of Chancery ; their Grants and Patents were commonly to be renew'd on every new Governor's Arrival, and as all of them were to continue *during the King's Pleasure* only, the King's Pleasure and the Governor's could not but be always deem'd the same, how contrary soever in Reality : For Instance ; possibly the King's Pleasure, could it have been known, was, that the Lands should descend upon the Death of the Grantee to his Heirs, when at the same time it might be the Governor's Pleasure to bestow them on some Favourite. And to crown all, after the last Conquest of the *French* Lands, the Governors took such large Tracts of the best of them to themselves, that, had their Successors been to go on at the same rate, the whole must at length have fallen to the Share of these Gentleman and their Heirs ; the Consequences of which being plainly insufferable, had the Inhabitants, merely to prevent them, press'd for a Regulation of the Lands, the publick as well as their private Interest would have thereby been advanced. But that could be no Reason, and ought not to

have been made a Handle for such a Sale as this.]

‘ IT is true not one of the three Commis-
 ‘ sioners, nor any that are like to find their Ac-
 ‘ count in this Sale, underwent any of those
 ‘ Hardships or run the least Risque either in con-
 ‘ quering or defending that Island, and there-
 ‘ fore might not be so sensible where the Merit
 ‘ lay.

‘ BUT sure no Man could imagine that such
 ‘ a Place as *St Christopher’s* was taken out of
 ‘ the Hands of the *French*, and defended from
 ‘ them during two long Wars, without People
 ‘ to take and defend it.

‘ NOR could it be supposed that all those
 ‘ brave People were dead before last Year, or
 ‘ that none of them that were dead had left
 ‘ Children or other Heirs upon the Place, or
 ‘ near it.

‘ AND it must be no less absurd to suggest,
 ‘ that the worthy Persons intrusted with the Di-
 ‘ rection of this Affair could have deem’d it
 ‘ righteous (had they been duly inform’d when
 ‘ the Model of the Sale was made) that so ma-
 ‘ ny of His Majesty’s loyal and deserving Sub-
 ‘ jects should be shut out from the Favour of
 ‘ being heard, which the Laws allow to Crimi-
 ‘ nals.

‘ BUT to leave the salving of Appearances
 ‘ to those whom it concerns; ’tis certain the
 ‘ whole was kept so close from the proper Clai-
 ‘ mers, as well as from their Friends and
 ‘ Factors in *London*, that all they knew of it
 ‘ before the Commissioners broach’d the Secret,
 ‘ in their Publications at *St Christopher’s* in Au-
 ‘ gust 1726, was from a Report that had been
 ‘ flying thro’ these Islands for a Month or two
 ‘ (which few regarded till the Commission was
 ‘ brought

‘ brought over in July) *that the French Lands*
 ‘ *were to be sold.*

‘ AND it is certain too, that the Commis-
 ‘ sioners declar’d over and over again (and in-
 ‘ deed the Commission requires them to sell the
 ‘ Land to the *best Advantage*, and, if they think
 ‘ fit, to the *Highest Bidder*) that they were so
 ‘ tied up by their Instructions as *not to know any*
 ‘ *Man on this Occasion* —————

‘ THIS Manner of ordering things at the
 ‘ Distance of so many thousand Miles from the
 ‘ Fountain-Head, which puts it out of the
 ‘ Power of those concern’d to make their Case
 ‘ known before the Thing they have a Claim
 ‘ to shall be dispos’d of otherwise, cannot but
 ‘ appear something hard. Two or three per-
 ‘ haps in such an Island as *St Christopher’s*, may
 ‘ find means of bringing their Claims to be heard
 ‘ afterwards at Home; but the generality of
 ‘ the Sufferers cannot do so, nor would it be
 ‘ discreet in them to attempt it. If a Planter
 ‘ goes to *England* for Redress, the only Person
 ‘ he can apply to is his Factor in *London*, whose
 ‘ Knowledge probably reaches not beyond the
 ‘ *West-India Walk* on the *Royal-Exchange*, *Bear-*
 ‘ *Key*, and *Lloyd’s Coffee-House* in *Lombard-*
 ‘ *Street*. What is to be done farther, I pretend
 ‘ not to know. But grant he gets over all, and
 ‘ returns *Triumphant* with an Order from Home
 ‘ to have Justice done him *on Sight*; the great
 ‘ Man it is directed to may be gone off, or dead;
 ‘ his Successor *knows nothing of the Matter*, but
 ‘ *will make speedy Enquiry*, and *write to England*
 ‘ *about it by the very first Ship*; a Flaw may be
 ‘ found in the Order, or it may be suppress’d,
 ‘ and if he has not arm’d himself with a Dupli-
 ‘ cate, quite lost; and a Man in Post here will
 ‘ find more Ways of evading what he has no
 ‘ mind

mind should be done, than one of equal Ma-
 lignity and more Art can find nearer Home.
 For my own Part, such is my Horrour of the
 Course of Penance said to be necessary to gain
 Reparation, and so delusory have I known it
 prove to some who thought they had gain'd it,
 that it has ever been my Advice to my Friends,
 as well as my own Practice in these Parts, to
sit down with the first Loss. And it might be
 proved by an Induction of Particulars, that as
 the Employment of Agents is always expen-
 sive, so it seldom, very seldom, mends the
 Matter.

IT is much to be desired, and the public
 Goods seems to demand, that Care were taken
 to prevent the Causes of these Applications,
 or at least to lessen their Number ———

NEITHER are the Hardships and bad
 Effects of this Way of proceeding avoided in
 the present Case, because the Sale is subject
 to the Allowance or Disallowance of the Right
 Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the
 Treasury: For the first five Years Purchase
 being already paid down, the Purchaser will
 of course make the proper Improvements on
 his Plantation in Canes, Buildings, and other-
 wise, which may reasonably be supposed to
 exceed the Ability of the Righteous Claimer
 to purchase from him, were his Claim to the
 Land to be allowed of afterwards, and the
 other's Purchase to be disannulled at Home.
 And even that is not to be expected, if we
 may credit what these Gentlemen have of late
 publicly declared, viz. That their last Let-
 ters from *England* assure them, *that their*
whole Proceedings from the Beginning, every Step
they have taken in this Sale, hath been appro-
ved of there, and ———

' 4. AS to what is added, that notwithstanding
 ' ing the thriving Condition of the *French*-
 ' Ground Planters, no more than one Third of
 ' the Purchase-Money is demanded down, and
 ' no less than five Years granted for paying the
 ' Remainder on the moderate Terms of Ten
 ' *per Cent. per Ann.* Interest, which the Produce
 ' of their Lands (for these Men will still talk as
 ' if nothing was required to Sugar-making but
 ' Land) will more than discharge within that
 ' Time; what is this but to crow over the poor
 ' Inhabitants in their Calamity? They that say
 ' so, and all that know any thing of *St Cbri-*
 ' *stopher's*, know, that the far greater Part of
 ' the Purchasers cannot pretend to pay down
 ' the two Thirds at the end of the five Years;
 ' and so, who can tell but the two Thirds may
 ' rest for fifteen, fifty, or five Hundred Years
 ' longer? Who would trouble himself about
 ' the Principal, that was sure of their *moderate*
 ' *Interest* of Ten *per Cent. per Annum* for it? And
 ' the Penalty the Commissioners have inserted
 ' in all the Contracts, is as good Security as the
 ' most jealous or griping Heart could wish for.
 ' What can all this mean but to make Slaves of
 ' the Purchasers, and their Posterity, as long as
 ' *St Christopher's* continues in *English* Hands?

I HAVE at length done with the *Leward*
Islands: If any thing that has been here advanc'd
 concerning them, or *Barbadoes*, should be dispu-
 ted, I shall, as soon as I can learn what it is, ei-
 ther do my best to clear it up, or make an open
 Acknowledgment of my Mistakes, as well as of
 those which my Friend, in whose Sentiments I
 am, may have committed; but if, upon Exa-
 mination, the same shall be found true, then sever-
 al useful Corollaries may be drawn from thence,
 which I rather chuse to leave to those concern'd
 (whether

(whether in *Barbadoes* and the *Leward Islands*, or in *Great Britain*) to draw for themselves, than take upon me to do it for them.

III. I T remains to consider the Query so often put, and so much insisted on of late, viz. *Why does not England, or her Sugar Islands, or both, make and settle more Sugar Colonies in the West-Indies?* Nay, rather than not make more Sugar Settlements somewhere, the Author of *the Plan of the English Commerce*, p. 333. would have us do it on the Coast of *Africa*, where we have the Choice of the Country from the Gold Coast in the Latitude of 6, to the Cape de Verd, in Lat. 15. and might both purchase Negro-Slaves at from 30s. to 50s. or at most 3 l. per Head, and also keep them from running away with less Difficulty than some imagine; because (says he) if they should run away, the neighbouring Negroes would but make Slaves of them again, and sell them to the Ships. But since we know both from the Nature of the Thing, i. e. of Slavery (which perhaps this Writer never had Occasion to know) and from the constant Behaviour of the Negro-Slaves in *America*, that the like Slaves will most certainly run from the Purchasers, if there is the least Opening for them; and since (to say nothing of the other numberless Absurdities of his Proposal) he does not tell us which way it is possible for the first Purchasers to reclaim their run-away Slaves from the neighbouring Negroes, or from the shipping to which the neighbouring Negroes would sell them; we may be sure no *European* Nation that is not infatuated will ever venture on such an Undertaking; which therefore, tho' I could not wholly pass it over, merits no farther Consideration here.

THE

THE Author of the *Remarks on the present State of the British Sugar Colonies considered* (p. 31.) brings in Mr *Gee's Opinion*, who says, as he quotes him, at Page 45. of his *Book of the Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered*; 'Our Planters are so far from being concerned at the Decay of our foreign Trade, that they have complained too many Sugars were made, and we may conclude will make what Interest they can with their Governors and others, to prevent their making and settling any new Plantations. If they can supply enough for Home Consumption at a great Price, it answers their Purpose —' The only Places we can think of where we may enlarge our Sugar Plantations are *Tobago*, to which (says the Author of the *Remarks*) I would add *Santa Cruz*, which is equal to it at least. The Island of *Barbadoes* (as he makes Mr *Gee* observe there likewise) is very much worn out, and does not afford the Quantity of Sugars as heretofore; and Mr *Gee* might have said the same of several Spots in all the *Leward Islands*, and of some perhaps in all Countries of the World which have been constantly manured for sixty or a hundred Years together. But then it is with these Spots here, as it is with others elsewhere; do but turn them, if you have Land enough besides to employ your Hands, into Pasture for ten or a dozen Years, and they will grow near as fertile as before. This cannot be done in *Barbadoes*, where every Inch of the Land having been long laboured to the Height, a great part of it must of Necessity, or according to the Course of Nature every where else, be much impaired, and by consequence cannot but put the Inhabitants to a great Expence to support it, which they do to the utmost it is capable of, and for that

M

Purpose

Purpose have now a vast Number of Slaves upon it, more perhaps than they were obliged to keep when it was richer, which with a constant yearly supply of about 3000 more from *Africa* to maintain the present Complement, do cultivate the Soil as far as any Part of it can be cultivated; insomuch that *Barbadoes* is at a *Nè plus ultra*, and the very best improved Sugar Plantation for it's Bounds that is to be met with any where. But possibly Mr *Gee* does not know, that *Antego* wants about 20,000 Negroes to manure it, *Montserat* 5000, *Nevis* near 6000, *St Christopher's* above 9000, and *Jamaica* twice the Number of Slaves that are now upon it, together with a proportionable Number of White Inhabitants, and a sufficient Strength of other Stock to employ those Numbers if they had them; and which is more (I wish Mr *Gee*, or any Body else, could tell us how to help it) not one of all these Islands is capable, and some of them never like, as things go, to be capable, of purchasing the Hands and Stock they want; and, which is more considerable still, if all of them knew how to purchase and pay for all the Negroes, and all the Stock necessary to employ those Negroes, and where to gain a sufficient Number of White People in proportion to those Slaves, and that Stock, not one of them could for many Years to come be improved (allowing for the extent of each) to the Height *Barbadoes* is at present, or that it was fifty or sixty Years ago. It would therefore seem to deserve Consideration, whether before the Nation goes on new Settlements, it would not be more for her Ease and Benefit to settle those thoroughly which she has already begun, and which with all the Countenance she can give them, are not like to be brought to Perfection during

during the present Century; or, at least, whether it will not be time enough to think of more Sugar Settlements in the *West-Indies* when these are better advanced, or begin, like *Barbadoes*, to require more Expence to support them than the Produce will bear.

FOR any thing I know, Mr Gee may have lived long and lately on *Barbadoes*, or some other of our Sugar Colonies, and travelled over *Hispaniola* and other *French* Settlements; or he may have corresponded with most of our own Sugar Colonies, as a Factor in *England* for the last twenty or thirty Years: And altho', supposing either of these to be the Truth, he seems from the Quotation above-mentioned, to have made no great use of his Time and Opportunities; yet, as I am a Stranger to him, as well as to his Book, which I find often quoted as good Authority by the late Writers on Plantation Concerns, I am willing to believe he is a Person of Worth and Judgment, and one that would by no means impose on those in *England*, who know nothing of us but by Hear-say. But the other Writers who pretend now to dictate to our Mother Nation in our Affairs, are no other than Men who have been formerly Masters of Sugar Vessels, or intrusted by Merchants at home with Cargoes to sell in the *West-Indies*, one Year at one Island, the next at another, and so on for some Years, or at the same Place for several Years, or else such as have got their Intelligence from them. And of these it may be truly said, that the first are wholly employed whilst here in procuring a Loading for their Ships, which is often not to be done but with much Difficulty and close Attendance, and when that is over (*which is the Business they came for*) they trouble their Heads no farther, unless

it be to know where to load again next Year; and the *Supercargoes*, or *Traders*, are as much taken up in selling their Goods and making Returns, and when that is done they either go home directly with the Produce, or, if more Cargoes are sent, or likely to be sent, to them from *Great Britain*, they move on in the same Round of selling and receiving as long as their Employers think fit to continue them in it; but neither sort shew any Fondness or Inclination, and few or none of either have the Skill or Capacity to look into the Situation of Affairs in the Colonies where they for some time reside, much less to find out what will render them more valuable to the Inhabitants, to their Neighbours, or to their Mother Nation. If they can but make a Gain of us at any Rate, it answers their Purpose. And when they succeed in that, or are otherwise diverted from pursuing the same Tract of Business, they seldom fail on their Return home, like other Travellers, to tell strange Stories of the Countries where they have been, which are too often implicitly received by those who know not how they employ their Time here; and when one of these, more assuming than the rest, has a mind to be taken notice of by Persons above the Vulgar, or to pick a Penny out of them, he gets some Hackney-*Author* to lick his Fables into form (which scarce one in many hundreds of themselves, as may be perceived by sifting them a little, can do) and then presents them to the World as new and rare Discoveries. Such a One I suspect him to be, who has given us his *Remarks on The present State of the British Sugar Colonies considered*. He affirms, (p. 5.) that *Barbadoes, all the Leeward Islands, and Jamaica, produce all the Sugar, Rum, and Molasses which they can produce*. This may

may be the Truth of *Barbadoes*, but *Jamaica*, if fully settled, would (as he might have learn'd from *Wood's Survey of Trade*, p. 173.) produce three times the Quantity of Sugar, and by consequence of Rum and Molasses, it has hitherto done. His Argument with respect to the *Leward Islands* and *Jamaica*, when reduced (as he speaks) in Order, is just as good as if he had said, *Antego* (e. g.) produces all the Sugar, Rum, and Molasses it can with about 23,000 Negroes, and if there is Land enough there unmanured, or not sufficiently manured, it could not but produce more of each with 45,000 Negroes, and other Materials and Stock equivalent. However, since we take off all the Sugar, Rum, and Molasses *Antego* now produces, and want more which I know where to get cheaper than there, viz. at *Martinico*, *Guadalope*, *Hispaniola*, *Surinam*, &c. it is therefore plainly for the Benefit of *England* to send to these foreign Settlements, nay to *Brasil* too, and take off, if she could, all the Sugar, Rum, and Molasses all of them make; and, by supplying the foreign Colonies with Necessaries, enable them to make more of these Commodities, and cheaper still, rather than encourage and enable *Antego*, and her other Colonies of *Jamaica* and the *Leward Islands*, to make all the Sugar, Rum, and Molasses she wants (and at a cheaper Rate in Time than the foreign Colonies can) whether for her own Use or for Exportation. This, I confess, is the Interest of the *French* and *Dutch*, and of some Hucksters in our northern Colonies; but the Interest of *England* lies another Way, which is,

1. TO enable her own Colonies to under-sell the foreign Colonies in all those Productions, and

and if that cannot be done after improving them to the Height,

2. T O settle more of the like Colonies ; and if all these will not serve her Occasions, then

3. Lastly, (which this Writer would have done in the first Place) to put the foreign Colonies in a Condition to supply the Deficiencies of her own, and to traffick with them for their whole Produce. Again ; what manifest Absurdities does he advance (p. 11, 12.) concerning the *French* being supplied with Lumber from the Bay of *Apalachy*, and with Cattle from the Coast of *Coro* ? And not knowing, or not considering, the constant Fluctuations in Trade, which are perhaps more sudden and signal here than any where else, how does he (p. 16, 17.) palm upon those who cannot confute him, the State of things from the Year 1713 to 1716, when I suppose this Trader was in these Parts, as their present State *Anno* 1731 ? And what Ignorance (real or affected, makes no great difference) does he discover, when he says (p. 28.) that *the clear Profits of the Sugar made in Barbadoes in the Year 1730 only, comes to 360,306 l. 18 s.* Was a Stranger, who had travell'd for some Months or Years over *England*, to publish an Account of the Soil, Trade, Manufactures, Buildings, Curiosities, Interests, &c. of her several Counties, 'tis like he would entertain us with many pleasant and pompous Descriptions of Cities, Towns, Monuments, &c. and the Inhabitants could hardly miss of finding some pretty Stories in it of themselves and their Affairs, which they never heard before ; but sure a Reader of any Taste or Meaning, would better approve of an Account of each County done by one that had liv'd 20, 30, or 40 Years, and was still living in the County he pretends to describe. In like manner, but with more

more Reason, will any Man in *England*, who is not to be fobb'd off with a superficial Account of the Concerns of our *American* Colonies (which are at a greater Distance from one another, and more different in their Soil, Trade, and Manufactures, than the most distant Counties of *Great Britain*) prefer an Account of each done by One that had lived long and lately in the Colony he treats of, than a general View of them all (which perhaps no man living is able to give to purpose) or even a particular Account of any one, by a Transient Trader, who (not to say the worst of the Case) cannot in many things of no small moment see with his own Eyes, but must depend on the Reports of others. And yet, with what Fondness and Eagerness do too many at home receive every Report of us, and our Affairs, that comes from such Persons, or from others who cannot be thought to know more of us, but rather less, than they do? And so by crediting their slender (or wrong) Relations of Places and People so remote from *Great Britain*, in Opposition to those of the longest Settlers in the Plantations, who should be believ'd to know their own Condition and Situation best, suffer themselves to be led into many foul Mistakes concerning us, both in our Civil and Religious Interests. Of the latter of these there is a sad Instance now before us, with respect to the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Negro-Slaves of the Sugar Colonies, as I think has been fully made out in a late *Essay concerning the Conversion of these poor Creatures, in a Letter from hence to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London*; Lond. printed for J. Wilford, 1730. I pass over the Regard that must always be paid to Men of Eminence and Authority in the Colonies, whose Interest however it often is (as Things are order'd)

to bide or darken Truth; as knowing the Case to admit of no Remedy, but what arises from the Wisdom and Penetration of those in *England*, to whom the judging of such Reports belongs.

TO return: If our Mother Country finds, upon Examination, that it is more her Interest to go upon New Sugar Settlements, than to improve her old ones in the *West-Indies*, 'tis plain she must contrive other Ways of doing it than by our Means. *Barbadoes*, with all her boasted Wealth, is scarce able to support herself in the Perfection to which she is arriv'd; the *Leward Islands* and *Jamaica*, are unable to purchase Stock and Negroes to ripen their several Settlements; and, upon considering the present Number of the white Inhabitants of all our Sugar Colonies, (for the Knowledge whereof I beg leave to refer the Reader to *the Board of Trade*, or *the Plantation Office* in *London*, where he will find Accounts that may be depended on, of the Numbers of the white Men, Women, and Children, now settled on each Island) I doubt not but it will appear that, far from putting us on settling more Colonies, it is the Interest of *England* to divert us by all imaginable Ways, from making any such Attempt at all, were we dispos'd to set upon it, and rather to think (if she thinks us worth keeping) how to save us from utter Ruin, in Case a Breach should happen betwixt her and a certain *European* Neighbour in these Parts.

THEY who talk most in *England* of making and settling New Plantations, do not, I fear, understand what it is to make and settle a New Sugar Plantation. Whatever Figure *St Christopher's* makes in the Maps, it does not contain (by the Survey, both of the *French* and *English* Part, made in the Year 1722, by Mr *Ravel* the King's Surveyor of the *Leward Islands*) above 25,000 Acres

Acres of Cane-Land; and yet requires, to settle it duly, about 24,000 Negroes, which at 22 *l.* per Head, one with another, is — 528,000 *l.* The Dwelling, Boiling, Curing, and Still-Houses; Coppers, Stills, Mills, and other Implements and Utensils for the boiling, curing, and Still-Houses, and Horses, Mules, and Cart-Cattle to employ 24,000 Negroes, would cost a good deal above — — — — — 700,000 *l.* 1,228,000 *l.*

And tho' no such Number of Slaves can be employed at first in forming a Sugar Settlement of the like Extent in the *West-Indies*, yet whoever knows the Difficulties and Dangers of clearing a Place here out of Woods, (which has been ever fatal to the Beginners) will own, that a considerable Number both of White Men and well-seasoned Negroes are absolutely necessary to such an Undertaking; and neither of these are to be got but from our Islands already settled; and I have shewed before, that it is not the Interest of *England* to have our Hands so diverted: And tho' some among us who are fond of Change, or new Experiments, (and some such there are in all Countries) would certainly join in the most hazardous and desperate Adventures, yet I dare say their Number would be very small; of which the Gentlemen in *England* who preach up new Settlements are so well aware, that Mr. Gee says, *our Planters will make what Interest they can* (as they have good Cause) *to prevent their making and settling any new Plantations.* And I hope the Proposers of new Settlements at *Tobago* and *Santa Cruz* do not mean

to make them by draining the several Goals of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, or by summoning in the Refugees from Popish Countries; for tho' the Settlements on *Barbadoes* and the *Leward Islands* were made at first by very indifferent Hands, and without Negroes, yet nothing of Moment, and very little of Sugar-making, was undertaken in any of them, 'till the Sufferings of the King's Friends after the Battle of *Naseby*, and the sore Defeats at *Worcester* and elsewhere, and *Oliver's* Conquest of *Ireland*, furnished them with another sort of Hands; and tho' *Jamaica* was conquered and settled at first by People of a different Complexion, yet most of them were Men of good Sense, Honour, and Worth, as the Times went, and (if *Oldmixon* says true in his History of that Island, p. 268.) 2000 of the old Cavaliers embarked with them. Our Mother Nation has indeed been liberally dispensing her Filth and Putrefaction both in her *Sugar* and *Tobacco* Colonies for the last sixty or seventy Years; People (it seems) that are not bad enough for the Gallows, and yet too bad to live among their virtuous Countrymen at Home; but alas! her Bounty this Way has proved very much a Hinderance, and very little a Help to us, not one in twenty of these Convicts being fit for any good Purpose, but almost all of them growing worse and wickeder by the Change of Climes.

WE may therefore presume that the Projectors of new *Sugar* Colonies are not for beginning with such Hands; as in truth there is no necessity for it: *England* has been engaged in no bloody War since the Cessation in 1712, and no Plague (*praised be GOD*) or grievous Calamity has befallen her for many Years; she cannot therefore but be full of Hands of the

the better Sort, very fit (as *Englishmen* are in many respects fitter than most other Nations) to settle Colonies abroad; or if she cannot, after all, conveniently spare a due Number of Hands, her Plantations on the Continent will abundantly supply that Defect. *New England* is said to contain above 120,000 Whites, which is more, by perhaps one half, than are in all *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and the *Leward Islands*; to be possessed of 38,000 Tons of Shipping, at the least; and in these, together with the Fisheries, to employ from 5 to 6000 Men. *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *South Carolina* are full both of Whites and Blacks. *New York* and the *Jerseys* are strong in Hands. And People have so flocked to *Pensylvania* from *Ireland*, *Wales*, the *Palatinate*, our Sugar Colonies, and other Places, that in a very few Years above 20,000 were added to her former great Numbers, which are now reckoned by some (who seem to speak from their own Knowledge) to be more than those of both the *Carolina's*, and both the *Tobacco* Colonies together; no Place on the Continent flourishes like it for Numbers, the City of *Philadelphia* containing not fewer than 2400 Houses, and above 12,000 Souls of the fundry Denominations, viz. *Church of England Men*, *Anabaptists*, *Independents*, &c. who are all on a Level there, and *Quakers* who rule the Province; and, which is of more Consequence in forming a Sugar Settlement, the Inhabitants [of *New England* and *Pensylvania*] are said to be unacquainted with Excess and Luxury, a People parsimonious to a Proverb, among whom Industry is principally regarded, and Vice and Effeminacy discountenanced, and whose rigorous Laws and Customs are such, as to make them be generally hated by the riotous and debauched part

of Mankind. What are not such Numbers, with such Qualifications, able to effect? Was the World to be ransacked, it could not certainly furnish a fitter People to begin a new Sugar Colony; at least, if to their other Accomplishments they would add moral *Honesty*, which I do not find their Advocates mention as an Ingredient in their Character, because without Punctuality and Uprightness in Dealing they never would, with all their other Perfections, make an advantageous Settlement here; and then let *England* join a little of her own immense Stock and Substance with that of this excellent People, and what should hinder them from quickly compleating a Sugar Colony in the *West-Indies*? and would not that in Time produce a Second, and both of them a Third, and so on, till our Settlements in these Parts should enable us to under-sell all our Rivals in the Sugar-Manufacture?

WHAT a fine Scene! what a glorious Prospect is here! ——— And yet, without pretending to Skill in Prophecy, I dare assure these Projectors (if it is worth while to be serious with them) that, as it is evident *England* has not been able for the last seventy Years to make any new Sugar Settlement, (for *Tortola* and *Spanish-Town* deserve not the Name of Sugar Settlements, and the little good they do accrues to the *Danes* and *Dutch*, and not to their Mother Nation) so neither will she, in a much longer time to come, settle any Sugar Colony of Importance in the *West-Indies*, unless (as the Author of the *Account of the Sale of the French Lands in St Christopher's* observes) we knew how to get *Porto-rico* from the *Spaniard*, which indeed would soon prove more beneficial to her than all the Sugar Colonies she was ever Mistress of,

of, *Jamaica* alone excepted. Take but care not to distribute the Land there *à la mode de St Christopher's*, and then would you see the Planters going thither in Shoals from *Barbadoes* and the *Leward Islands*; the money'd Men in *England* would court to be Proprietors; and far from complaining (as Mr Gee says our Planters do) that too many Sugars are made, Sugar would be made as if the Manufacturers thought enough could never be made.

AND here, having nam'd my Author again, I shall insert another Paragraph of his *Account*, which, as I said before, was written in the Month of *June*, 1727.

I shall mention (*says he*) one Thing more, which was so far from making those that had purchas'd repent their Bargains, or from hindering others to purchase, that it contributed not a little to the contrary. The People knowing their Inability to comply with the Conditions impos'd on them, were easily flatter'd into hopes, that they might with Advantage settle *Santa Cruz* (an Island that had been long dissettled by the *French*) and so have the Pleasure of leaving their Possessions in *St Christopher's* on the hands of the Commissioners. But this was a weak Projection: The *French* may be our very good Friends in some Matters, but when any of our Attempts do but seem to threaten their Affairs in the remotest Prospect, their Complaisance is at an end; witness *Santa Lucia*, which in *English* Hands might indeed have prov'd as powerful a Curb on their *Caribbee Islands* in Time of War, as *Gibraltar* (may such Comparisons be made) does at present on the *Spaniards*, *Algerines*, and other Nations thereabouts: Wherefore it was impossible that the *French* (being what they

are,

are, that is, clear-sighted to the common Interest, and provident of Posterity) should have suffered us to hold a Settlement there on any Terms. And altho' *Santa Cruz* can never affect them near so sensibly, yet none could reasonably think they would have allowed us to settle an Island of theirs, unless (which *Englishmen* will not do if they can help it) we had first agreed to live under a *French* Government, and to admit of their Religion. However, several of the Inhabitants of *St Christopher's*, glad of catching at any thing that promis'd Deliverance, went to that Island, where they found abundance of People of all Nations cutting *Fustick*, but could not upon viewing the Place, and advising with those upon it, perceive the least Encouragement to form a Settlement there; and many of them falling sick with traversing of the Woods, and thereupon making what haste they could back again for their Health, and one of the chief Adventurers dying with the Fatigues of the Voyage, that Project ceas'd, and the People found themselves under a still greater Necessity of embracing the the Commissioners Demands.]

BUT it will doubtless be said, Why should not *England* make new Sugar Settlements, since we see *France* so successful in the like Undertakings at present, as at *Santa Lucia*, *Dominico*, *St Vincent's*, and (as it is said) at *Dessada* too?

TO which I answer, first, That as soon as we begin any such Attempt, the *French* constantly attack us (Peace or War, it is all one with them) before we have Time to form the Settlement, as they did lately at *Santa Lucia*, and formerly (I think) at *Santa Cruz*, and the *Spaniards* at *Crabb-Island* or *Becquay*, in the Year 1718, when

when our People of *Anguilla* were fixing themselves there; and, as we commonly starve the Cause, so in all their Attacks on such Occasions, they never fail to bring a Force sufficient to destroy ten times our Strength and Numbers; whereas now that they are settling *Santa Lucia, Dominico, &c.* far from disturbing our Vessels from *Ireland* and the *North* Continent, daily furnish them with Provisions and Materials to carry on their Settlements, without which it would be next to impossible for the *French*, or more expensive than advantageous, either to make new, or improve any one of their old Settlements any where in the *Caribbee Islands*. Some Account of these Matters was given in a Letter dated at *Martinico*, May 1, 1730. and publish'd in *Fog's Journal* of *September* the 19th, the same Year; (wherein the Writer hinted at a sure Way of discovering the *French* Proceedings in these Parts) and the same has since been confirm'd and amplify'd by Applications from *Barbadoes*, and some of the *Leward Islands*, tho' hitherto without any visible good Effect. How long we shall deem it prudential to sit still, cannot be said here; but certain it is, the *French*, ever studious in improving Opportunities, are making the most of the present.

BUT, Secondly, It is a great Mistake to think that the *French* are settling *St Lucia, St Vincent's, &c.* for the sake of increasing their Sugar Manufactures, which none of these Islands can ever do to any great Degree, unless that Manufacture was to take some strange and every way unforeseen Turn in the *West-Indies*, such a Turn as it would be (for Example) at Home, if no more Malt-Liquor could be brew'd in *South-Britain, Ireland*, and all *Scotland*, except *Orkney, Shetland*, and the *Isle of Skie*; and therefore their Settlers on *St Lucia, &c.* are not allow'd to set
up

up the Sugar Manufacture at all, but only to plant *Indian* Provisions, Cotton, and Tobacco, and to rear smaller Stock: For the *French* have Employment more than enough for ten times the Stock and Number of Hands, Black as well as White, they are now possess'd of, or like to be possess'd of in haste, in *Hispaniola* (a Place of above 1200 Miles in Compass) where the Sugar Manufacture may be supported and enlarg'd with more Ease, Success, and Certainty, than it is possible for them, or any other Nation in being, to carry it on in any or all these Islands; and which, if planted as *Martinico* is, would produce (to say nothing of it's Natural Wealth) more Sugar, Indigo, Cocoa, and other valuable *West-India* Commodities, than all *Europe* could consume. But the Duke of *Montagu's* Attempt to settle *St Lucia* and *St Vincent's*, is what alarm'd the *French*; from whence they concluded, that we, considering our Notions of New Sugar Settlements, would not desist whilst there was one Island more hereabouts left unsettled, which (whether our Adventurers meant so or no) would put us in a better Condition than we yet have been, in of annoying them upon Occasion, in their Colonies of *Martinico* and *Guadalope*, if not in *Hispaniola* too, and therefore the *French* forthwith set upon settling of them all themselves; as, indeed, in order to lay a sure Foundation for their Projects in *America*, it is visibly their Interest first to secure the Possession of *St Lucia*, *Dominico*, *St Vincent's*, and *Desseada*, and rather for a while to suspend their Progress even in *Hispaniola*, than suffer any one of them, on any Account whatsoever, to fall into our Hands. They say that, on every Rupture with us, their Possessions in *St Christopher's* lay at our Mercy, and therefore yielded up their Share of it without

out Reluctance at *Utrecht*; they found it not worth while to protect *Santa Cruz* on all Events, and therefore displant it long ago; and I am much mistaken if the *Dutch* may not, when they please, have the *French* Half of the Islands of *St Martin*, and the Whole of *St Bartholomew*, for any Shadow of an Equivalent; and were we disposed to make such a Renunciation of our Right to *St Lucia*, *St Vincent's*, *Dominico*, and *Desseada*, as would execute itself, or to give satisfactory Security that we would never settle any of them, they might all remain unpeopled for the *French* till Doomsday. 'Tis the Preservation of *Martinico*, and the Enlargement of their Strength in *Hispaniola*, that the *French* are intent upon at present, and neither make nor unmake any Sugar Settlements here, but with a View to those.

WHATEVER the late King *James* and his Brother of *France* were in other Matters, they understood the Trading Interest of their People better than their Predecessors. Both had vast Views on this side the Globe, which no human Power was able to stop either of them from accomplishing, unless they stopp'd one the other. To prevent which a Treaty was concluded at *Whitehall*, in November 1686, by the eighteenth Article whereof it is agreed, That if any Breach should happen between the two Crowns in Europe, a true and firm Peace and Neutrality shall however continue in America, between the British and French Nations, in the same Manner as if such Breach in Europe had not happened. It needs not be said, that all King *James's* Designs in America sunk with himself; the *French* King, whether he hop'd to carry his without this Neutrality, or that he thought our Nation, then exasperated on other Accounts, would not much regard a Treaty of King *James's* contriving, took Care to be before-

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hand

hand with us, and violated it first, by driving the *English* from *St Christopher's*, in the Year 1689. Now let us see what has followed this Breach: The Colonies of *Martinico*, *Guadalope*, and *Marigalante*, are improv'd to more than ten times what they then were; the *French* have so prevail'd in *Hispaniola*, that the *Spaniard* will hardly ever attempt to beat them out of it, whatever they may do to the *Spaniard*; their Progress on the *Northern* Continent, down into the Gulph of *Mexico*, is an Object of our Fears rather than our Knowledge; and (if so small a Matter may be repeated again) they are now, by the Help of *Ireland* and our *Northern* Plantations, securing *St Lucia*, *St Vincent's*, and *Dominico* (not indeed for their intrinsic Worth, but) to serve as Out-guards or Frontiers to their better Settlements: To balance all this, *England* not only regain'd her Part of *St Christopher's*, but expell'd the *French* from theirs, in 1690; King *William* restor'd it to them at *Reswick*; we took it again soon after his Death in 1702; and *France*, glad to get handsomely rid of it, yielded up the Whole at *Utrecht*, to be possess'd for ever by *British* Subjects alone; and we have sold the same to the very Persons who risk'd their Lives to take and defend it for a Sum of Money, to be applied (as is set forth in the Commission for the Sale) to the Use of the Publick, pursuant to an Address of the House of Commons; which Sum, how enormous soever in itself, and ruinous to the unfortunate Purchasers, will very probably end in a most miserable Trifle (to say no worse) to the Publick.

THE Truth is, *France* has of late chang'd many of her old Plantation-Maxims, and among others, establish'd that fundamental one, mentioned, before from Dr *Davenant*, of giving very large
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Appointments to the Governors out of the King's Coffer, not allowing them to draw any Advantages, or Profits, from the Inhabitants, without the strictest Observance of which no Sugar Colony in the West-Indies, will ever prosper in the Hands of any Nation. Nay more, she has chang'd (at least in this Part of the World) her very Genius too, or rather dropt what was vicious in it; and all her Undertakings here, seem to have been contriv'd with as much Thought and Deliberation, as it is obvious they are carried on with a Patience and Steadiness unknown to her in former Times; of which her Louisiana or Mississippi, which has starv'd and destroy'd so many Thousands of her People, and is, notwithstanding infinite Discouragements, resolutely prosecuted, is one glaring Instance, as her advancing her Sugar Colonies in the West-Indies, and the Value of her Sugar-Manufactures at the Market in Europe, in Opposition to a Nation that could have crush'd them long ago, and is still able to wound both in their Vitals, is another dismal one to us.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

PAGE 51. l. 6. for him, read them. P. 59. l. 27. for settle to, read to settle. P. 73. l. 18. for easy conceive, read easy to conceive. Ibid. l. 36. for unreasonable, read reasonable. P. 95. l. 7. after disturbing, add a Comma.

Appointment to the Government out of the King's Gift
 for not allowing to be to have any other
 Profit, from the Land, without the Consent
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 which has flourish'd and deliver'd to many thousands
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ERRATA

PAGE 100. A. 6. for him, read them. P. 100. A. 27. for
 the first is, read is, A. 18. for only consider
 to consider. P. 100. A. 28. for unresolvable, read resolvable.
 P. 100. A. 29. for the, read a.